

# Africa Digest

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## CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

### Constitution Amendment Bill<sup>1</sup>

AN opposition motion that the Queen should not be advised to assent to the draft Order-in-Council implementing the Federal Constitution Amendment Bill was defeated in the House of Commons by 301 votes to 245.

Commenting *before the debate*, under the heading "Bill of Wrongs", Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, of St. Faith's Mission Farm, S. Rhodesia (*Observer*, November 17, 1957), wrote: "The African Affairs Board, the chief safeguard of African interests, has declared the Bill to be a 'differentiating measure', threatening Africans with disabilities to which Europeans are not subjected . . .

"The British Parliament at Westminster has thus to face a difficult decision, fraught with tremendous consequences. If it rejects the report of the African Affairs Board and supports this amendment to the Constitution, it will reject the advice of the very body it has set up to safeguard African interests. It will increase the desperation of those in the Northern Protectorates who still look to Britain as 'protector'. If Parliament supports the African Affairs Board, it will estrange the Government of the Federation, whose spokesmen have already been rattling their sabres. But it will open the way for a reconsideration of the whole electoral issue, while there is still an opportunity for peaceful solutions. . . .

"The British Government has the opportunity of taking a big step forward towards saving the situation in Central and East Africa. Not only seven million people in the Federation but millions beyond it will be watching to see whether the African Affairs Board is to be supported and African interests prevail, and the way paved towards real partnership between the races in 1960, when the Constitution will be reviewed."

In reply, Major P. H. B. Wall, M.P. (Conservative), wrote (*Observer*, November 24, 1957): "It must be realized that the Constitutional Amendment Bill is a liberal measure, as it enfranchises for the first time a large number of Africans who are British Protected Persons and who will now have the vote without losing their protected status. It also aims at introducing political rather than racial groupings, an objective that must surely be supported by all who believe in partnership between the two races. . . .

"Those who use the Constitutional Amendment Bill to make political capital in this country will be doing untold harm to Central Africa. On one hand, this could influence extreme European opinion in the Federation to demand Dominion status by 1960, or indeed to threaten 'a Boston tea-party'. On the other hand, it could lead African opinion to believe that this Bill is a prelude to the ending of the protectorate status of the two northern territories. Either of these views, if widely canvassed, could be disastrous to racial partnership."

The International Department of the British Council of Churches, which speaks also for the Conference of British Missionary Societies, said: "The International Department recognizes that there are a number of positive provisions in the Bill which look forward to the ultimate goal of the abolition of communal representation, a goal which has its full support. Genuine non-racial representation, however, requires a certain level of

inter-racial understanding and confidence. It cannot be claimed that this has yet been achieved; the evidence on this point that the Department has received, particularly from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is virtually unanimous.

"Rightly or wrongly, the African understanding was that there would be no alteration in the constitutional provisions before 1960. If the British Parliament accepts such variation now, the confidence of the Africans will be still further undermined. The approval of the Bill at this juncture, in the Department's view, cannot but have lasting consequences in the further deterioration of race relationships. Such real benefits as the Bill is designed to secure could be provided for at the time of the review of the Constitution."

The Bow Group (of Young Conservatives) issued a memorandum entitled "Crisis over Central Africa" which made certain reservations about accepting the Bill and urged that the British Government get further assurances about the franchise.

### Comment After the Debate

The senior elected member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, Mr. Alan Dixon, said that it "has given us in the Federation a few more years to put our house in order". He went on: "It is obvious that the present Federal Parliament is unworkable with its present numbers. An enlarged House will enable us to decentralize the Government and lead to greater efficiency."

An African member of the Legislative Council, Mr. Kwenje, said that if the Federal Government was able to pass the Constitution Amendment Bill, which was objectionable to Africans, "It means that when it gets Dominion status, which it craves for, it will be able to do anything to the detriment of the African. Nyasaland, however, feels it will have to get out of the Federation."

The leader of the Protectorate's Asian community, Sattar Sacranie, said it was a pity that the scheme to enlarge the Federal Parliament was being opposed by a preponderant section of the population. "It would seem that the correct answer for the Federal Government is to try to obtain the co-operation of all communities, particularly the Africans, before pushing through a measure of this nature."

Mr. M. M. Hove, the African member for Matabeleland in the Federal House, emphasizing that he was expressing general African opinion rather than his own views, said: "This Bill is not regarded by Southern Rhodesia Africans as being so vital as the Franchise Bill." (*The Times*, November 29 and 30, 1957.)

A conference of representatives of African National Congresses from all three territories, held in Lusaka, called the support of the Bill "the betrayal of Africans of Central Africa by the British Government". The delegates called on the African peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to "boycott the federal franchise and federal elections". (*The Times*, December 5, 1957.)

In Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Bassopo-Moyo, chairman of the Harari branch of the U.R.P., maintained that the British Government had violated the Federal Constitution. "The only safeguard Africans had has been rendered useless."

The secretary of the newly formed Harari Federal Party branch, Mr. T. A. Nyazika, commented: "We now know what is going to happen in 1960 when the question of Dominion status comes up. Our views won't be taken into consideration." He considered that suspicion would now grow, "as it has become clear that the British Government, as well as the Federal

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 2 and 3.

Government, would like to pack the Federal House with Africans who are 'yes-men'."

The chairman of the Inter-racial Association in Salisbury, Mr. Charles Mzingeli, said that the British Government's decision had not surprised him. "We as Africans are disappointed but we did not expect anything better from the Conservative Government." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 7, 1957.)

In Britain, the *Daily Telegraph* (November 26, 1957) said the debate had been "over-dramatized". "The issue was not of the first importance, though great efforts have been made to make it appear so. Economic and educational advancement of Africans is going on so fast that inequalities arising out of the proposed changes should disappear—certainly fast enough for those who have to organize and carry through the advancement of African officials and technicians. By saying No on this occasion to the African Affairs Board the House has not jeopardized its power to say Yes on a future occasion. It is possible that it may be called on to challenge attempts to raise the franchise qualifications for Africans. But that is tomorrow's problem, not today's."

Professor Lionel Elvin wrote in the *Manchester Guardian* (November 29, 1957): "The main point is simple. Assume that the proposed amendment is sensible. Assume the good faith of those who support it. The point remains that nobody of African opinion believes it to be in the interests of the Africans in the Federation. It must be asked whether in these circumstances it can be wise to proceed with it, as the avowed aim of our policy is 'partnership' and as partnership depends not merely on good faith but on the belief that there is good faith."

"As Burke pointed out on a former colonial occasion, Ministers may believe themselves to be right and honest, may indeed be so, but if a great weight of opinion among those most nearly concerned vehemently denies this, is it expedient to press on with their policy? Is it not certain to lead to an explosion? Government spokesmen deployed their arguments and protested their good faith, but none (judging by newspaper reports) maintained that anybody of African opinion thought the same."

"Some of us who have said to our African friends that 'partnership' would have such obvious advantages that they should refrain from cultivating their suspicions now have the ground cut from under our feet. This is not merely because the Africans in the Federation, after the opinion of the African Affairs Board, have a very strong case, but because, whether they be right or wrong, their feelings have been flatly over-ruled. A politician can insist that he is 'right'. It takes a statesman to see that he can think he is right and still, if partnership be the aim, be completely wrong."

### Electoral Bill Passed

After a long and heated series of debates at its various stages, the Federal Electoral Bill gained the necessary two-thirds majority in the Federal Parliament. The voting was twenty-five to eight at the third reading. Under the terms of the constitution the Bill requires the Queen's assent before it becomes law. During the early stages of the debate the African Affairs Board gave notice that it considered the Bill to be a measure discriminating against Africans.

A proposal put forward by Sir John Moffat, chairman of the African Affairs Board, that the debate be adjourned until an all-party conference could discuss a better franchise system than that proposed, was rejected after a division. (*The Times*, January 7 and 10, 1958.)

At the committee stage an amendment was agreed that native chiefs should be eligible for the general (upper) roll, subject only to their having a knowledge of English. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 9, 1958.)

During the debate, Dr. A. Scott (Independent), said that Africans had much more political perspicacity than people were inclined to think. He believed that the Bill would be almost completely rejected by Northern Rhodesian Africans, and that not a single member of Congress eligible to vote, let alone moderate Africans, would apply for registration. "I have moved among Africans a great deal during the last three months and I have not met a single moderate African who has the slightest intention of having anything to do with the Bill." While he did not approve that attitude they could hardly be blamed for it.

"When there are very few Africans on the special roll, how will this

Government explain it away to the people here and in Britain who have said there is a perfectly reasonable offer to Africans in the offer of the special roll? In the House of Commons, the Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations quoted figures, as if they were tolerably reliable, on which to base an opinion. I have not the slightest doubt that the figures to a very considerable extent influenced at any rate those few wobbling Conservatives who might have voted against the Government. . . ."

The literacy test envisaged in the Bill was much more severe than under the Northern Rhodesian electoral system. An African had got to be able to speak, read and comprehend English. Many Africans were quite fluent in an ungrammatical way, reading a little English, comprehending the ordinary things of everyday life, but if the Federal test were applied to many Africans considered literate many would be disbarred.

Africans considered this franchise paltry and humiliating. It was the kind of franchise that bred demands for universal franchise. "A short time ago the Congress in Northern Rhodesia would have accepted a franchise with qualifications. Now they say it is not worth considering, and they have gone to the extreme of demanding a universal franchise."

Mr. W. M. Chirwa, specially elected member for Nyasaland, said that the Constitution Amendment Bill and the Franchise Bill would harm future race relationships. What the Federal Government was doing was absolutely dishonest and they knew it; they were trying to persuade the British Government to accept the same dishonesty.

Africans had come to the conclusion that they could look neither to Britain nor to the Europeans in Central Africa for justice, and that they must look to their own means to get justice.

"The trend of history has been that where you have one race oppressing another the oppressed race cannot tolerate that position. No amount of military force behind the Government can stop that spirit of the people from expressing itself. That stage we are now reaching in Central Africa, so much so that the people, deprived of expressing themselves by constitutional means, tend to take means that are violent. No one would regret that stage as I would. But the Government is forcing the African people into that position. It is quite clear that the Government is trying to force Africans to resort to means which are unconstitutional."

The Bill stated that government must be in the hands of civilized and responsible persons. How was that to be defined? "In this country some people have risen to the position of Ministers who have never been to a university or secondary school. People have risen to such positions who have not the education which those people have who can be classed as uncivilized because of their colour; yet white people with lower qualifications can qualify. The standard of judgement and responsibility is an arguable matter. Is a person civilized because he has passed Form II or had a primary or university education? Does a person become civilized because he is earning £720 per annum, although he may be the greatest rogue in the country? All these things are being done to maintain white supremacy in Central Africa."

Mr. M. Kakumbi, specially elected member for Northern Rhodesia, appreciated the extension of the franchise to British protected persons and was satisfied with the franchise proposals, but he objected to the method of electing the four African representatives. It was "good advancement" that there should be fifteen African representatives in the House, but when one subtracted the Africans with strictly party allegiances and the three European representatives only four true African members remained. He wanted to get away from racialism, and favoured one common roll for all.

"I do not mind whether in the future we have only one African in this House and the rest of the members are Europeans provided those Europeans were put into this House by the people of the Federation in the right way." Racial harmony would never come until the two rolls, which engendered fear and distrust, were abolished.

Sir John Moffat, chairman of the African Affairs Board, told the Federal Parliament that he and other members of the House representing African views were seeking legal advice concerning the Constitution Amendment Act and Federal Electoral Bill with a view to possible Supreme Court action. Sir John said that he intended to challenge the Government in court on the grounds that it had exceeded its legislative powers.



The *Manchester Guardian* (January 9, 1958) supported Sir John Moffat's suggestion that the Federal Franchise Bill should be remodelled on the lines of the Southern Rhodesian franchise law. This would enable "Europeans to share in (but not to dominate) the choice of African members of the Federal Assembly and equally Africans to take part (but again not a dominant part) in the choice of European members".

### Controversy on Franchise Statistics

Mr. T. R. M. Creighton, writing to *The Times* (November 13, 1957), said: "The franchise qualification is to an overwhelming extent a financial one, so that in fact everyone who is white—and consequently well off—gets a vote; most who are black—and consequently poor—do not. To be black in the Federation is to be poor; to be white is to be rich."

In reply (November 19, 1957), Mr. G. H. Baxter wrote: "... 'wealth' is a misleading word to describe an income qualification which, according to the recent illuminating article by your Special Correspondent, is already possessed by nearly 40 per cent of the African workers in the Copperbelt. A capacity to vote intelligently is not guaranteed by a few years' schooling and the ability to earn a modest wage, but these provide perhaps as good a criterion as has yet been devised."

In the *Manchester Guardian* (December 6, 1957) Miss D. G. Padfield wrote: "On his arrival in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference last June, Sir Roy Welensky . . . said that the main point about the Federal franchise proposals was that they threw open the possibility of the vote to four million Africans. According to recent estimates, the total electorate (general roll and special roll together) under these proposals will in 1958 consist of 23,000 Africans and 93,000 non-African voters, and there are provisions in the Franchise Bill which can quite easily be used to ensure that the African vote never becomes appreciably more influential. It seems that Sir Roy's claim about the 'main point' of the proposals (since incorporated in the Bill) was somewhat disingenuous."

Mr. L. G. F. Anthony, Information Attaché to the High Commission for Rhodesia and Nyasaland in London, replied (December 12, 1957): "Even if a comparatively small number will benefit initially, it is still true to say that the franchise proposals offer the possibility of the vote to these four million British protected persons."

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 14, 1957) pointed out in an editorial that in the House of Commons debate, Mr. Alport, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, gave certain estimates . . . of the approximate numbers of voters, European and African respectively, who might be expected to take part in the election of the "specially elected" African members of the Legislature; and drew the conclusion that in Southern Rhodesia the Europeans would be more numerous, in Nyasaland the Africans, and in Northern Rhodesia they would balance each other, "broadly on a fifty-fifty basis". The Northern Rhodesia estimate, in particular, was based on a calculation that the number of Africans eligible for the vote in respect of income "might be as much as 48,000 but the literacy test would reduce these, possibly to about 21,000".

A memorandum distributed by the High Commissioner for the Federation in London, dated shortly before the debate, gave a different estimate for Northern Rhodesia. In place of Mr. Alport's 48,000 Africans thought eligible in respect of income, Mr. G. H. Baxter, who prepared the memorandum, gave a tentative figure of 18,500 of whom 15,000 would be found in the Copperbelt. The editorial concluded: "The literacy test will make an appreciable deduction from that. Has Mr. Alport put the African total too high? It may seriously affect the supposed balance if he has. Could a closer calculation be made before the Franchise Bills (without which the Constitution Amendment Bill cannot be put into effect) come up for discussion in the Federal House and perhaps—if the African Affairs Board finds them 'differentiating'—at Westminster?"

Mrs. Eirene White, M.P., in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (December 17, 1957), quoted from a letter received from the Commonwealth Relations Office which said: "On the basis of the 1956 census it is estimated that there may be about 37,000 Europeans in Northern Rhodesia who could be eligible to vote on the general roll. It is clear, however, that many of these either do not wish to qualify under the citizenship regula-

tions (there is a large Afrikaner population) or take no interest in voting. The only hard and definite fact is that in May, 1957, there were 16,200 Europeans actually enrolled. The Federal Government, making a very generous estimate, think it likely that there may be as many as 20,000 Europeans enrolled in 1958.

"The figures for Africans are all conjectural. The most reasonable conjecture is that there are about 48,000 Africans, including women, who have the property qualifications for the special roll. It is an entirely wild guess that there may be 21,000 Africans eligible both on the property and on the educational qualifications. The question is: 'How many of them are likely to register?'"

"Taking 21,000 as the figure of those eligible (though without any confidence whatever in its accuracy) it is considered likely that by far the greater part will, in fact, enrol. The Federal Government conjecture that there might be 18,000 Africans to 20,000 Europeans. The Governor of Northern Rhodesia thought there would be slightly more Africans than Europeans on the roll, also in the neighbourhood of the 20,000's. In the circumstances it seems best to conclude merely that there is likely to be a rough equality between Africans and Europeans."

On December 24th, Mr. G. H. Baxter wrote: "... it is fair to say that my figure of 18,500 non-Europeans (mostly Africans), as the number possessing the requisite income, was too low as a result of misclassification of some of the material supplied to me. All the figures, as I pointed out, are unavoidably approximate and conjectural; but 18,500 may reasonably be taken as the number of non-Europeans expected to possess both the qualifications of earning power and literacy. In the presence of so many uncertain factors this figure and Mr. Alport's figure of 21,000 may, I suggest, be taken as agreeing closely enough to indicate the likely order of magnitude of the potential African electorate in Northern Rhodesia.

"On the other hand the number of non-Europeans who actually get on the roll will be less than the above in so far as, whether through apathy or pressure, those made eligible fail to enrol; and if it were to fall far below this would defeat the expectation of a rough equality between the numbers of Europeans voting in the election of special roll candidates."

In the *Rhodesia Herald* (December 10, 1957) a correspondent "Junius" wrote: "Who has been feeding fatuous figures to the British Colonial Secretary? . . . an inescapable fact is that nobody at this moment can possibly know what the numerical constitution of the proposed Federal rolls will be . . . since the opening of the Southern Rhodesian 'B' roll, only a handful of Africans has applied for admission. The new Territorial roll met with very little declared opposition from the African, while the Federal equivalent is the target of open African hatred. . . . In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland the Federal dual roll is already being banned and boycotted by the African National Congress. Against this background somebody must have briefed Mr. Lennox-Boyd with a set of the most disingenuously improbable estimates that can ever have been used to bolster a dubious issue. Who, I ask again, are these haruspicing, crystal-gazing augurs?"

Introducing the second reading of the Electoral Bill in the Federal Assembly, the Minister of Law, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, said that the estimate for 1958 for Southern Rhodesia was 60,000 general voters (of whom not less than 1,000 would be Africans) and there might be 29,000 special voters. In Northern Rhodesia he estimated that there might be 20,000 general voters (with about 450 Africans) and 18,000 special voters, while Nyasaland might have 3,000 general voters (with about eighty-five Africans) and 7,000 special voters. It was clear that in Nyasaland special voters would predominate in the combined special and general roll which would elect two of the African Members from the Protectorate. In Northern Rhodesia they would not predominate but they could do so in the future, while in Southern Rhodesia there would be vastly more Africans able to vote for the African representatives than was the case in the 1953 election.

### Warnings on Communism and Nationalism

Sir Roy Welensky, in a New Year Message, said that the general election to be held in the Federation during 1958 would "be important and particularly so because it will come at a time when pressure to upset the Federation has been organized and recently provided with a new

stimulant". He referred to the Afro-Asian talks held in Cairo, during which a Russian spokesman showed Russia's hand for all to see in regard to the African continent.

"We should be warned not only by Russia's direct participation in such a conference of nationalist movements as opposed to a conference of nations, but also by her unconditional offer of economic aid. We should be aware that this interest will greatly stimulate the activities of nationalist movements on the African continent, including that in our own country, because it is through these movements that Communism finds it convenient to operate.

"And finally we should be aware that the very dangers we see in unbridled African nationalism—the lowering of standards and the intrusion of irresponsibility into statecraft and civil life are exactly the factors which international Communism likes to develop as a precursor to the arrival of Communism itself but which the Federation is pledged to oppose. I give this warning, therefore, of what might well develop in parts of Africa in the coming year; but at the same time I would like to make it clear that we recognize the dangers and we are thus forewarned." (*Federation Newsletter*, January 10, 1958.)

The *Central Africa Examiner* (January 4, 1958) reviewed the events of 1957 in the Federation in the form of an imaginary discussion between the statues of Beit, Rhodes, Livingstone and Smuts. In the course of it it made Livingstone say: "I'm sad about my Nyasaland. To judge from the African Congress, we stopped one form of slavery there only to put them under another—that of Federation. It can't be that bad. Nyasaland Europeans seem to have short helpings, too, what with 'political imponderables' and the Shire Valley scheme delay. They need to get on with developing Nyasaland fast for everyone's sake."

"But don't you think," asked Rhodes, digging his hands deeper into the pockets of his shapeless suit, "that they've achieved some political progress in the Colony? I know they've made my old criterion for a voter—equal rights for all civilized men—hackneyed and nearly meaningless, and I know there are hypocrites about. But the new Todd franchise seems a pretty fair one and, federally, it's good to see a talented man like Winston Field now leading the Opposition. I must admit," he went on, "the best speech of the year was not made by a politician, but by a mission worker, Guy Clutton-Brock. His appeal to try to understand the aims and inspiration of African Congress deserves to be read over many times. They'll have to offer something more constructive for African Congress leaders to do, if they don't want to play into Russian hands and end our dreams of British Africa for all time."

Livingstone was in sombre mood. He mumbled it wasn't properly his part to praise his kinsmen, Sir Robert Tredgold and Sir John Moffat, though he'd like to put in a good word for someone, with whom he had a different sort of kinship. "I admire Todd," he said, "though he looks to be in trouble for his honest opinions. I'm no politician, but this merger of Todd's and Welensky's parties seems to be discouraging the African moderates."

### Prime Minister Attacks Labour M.P.s

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, described the behaviour of Mr. James Callaghan, M.P., who was deputy leader of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association delegation<sup>1</sup> to Central Africa, as "an abuse of hospitality", "irresponsible" and "highly objectionable". Sir Roy said that long before he came to the Federation Mr. Callaghan expressed the view that the Federation could not last and it was apparent from his recent utterances that he carried this prejudice with him throughout his tour of the Federation. In his statement, issued following the report of Mr. Callaghan's speech at a meeting organized by the Africa Bureau, the Prime Minister said: "I have read the account of Mr. Callaghan's statement in the course of which he said that if the report of the recent Commonwealth Parliamentary Association delegation to the Federation had been couched in different terms the members of the delegation would have been hailed as 'wise statesmen', instead of being criticized for comments they had made since their return to the United Kingdom. The public will be interested to know that the report of the delegation has not yet been received in the Federation, and we are therefore not in a position

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

to say whether it does or does not reflect wise and statesmanlike views."

Sir Roy said he doubted if Mr. Callaghan's own views reflected either of these qualities to any great extent, because these qualities implied an open mind. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 23, 1957.)

Mr. James MacColl, M.P., a member of the delegation, in a letter to *The Times* (November 22, 1957) said of the attacks made by Sir Roy "So long as these imprecations were in general terms against the delegation, it seemed more courteous to our kindly hosts to let them pass. Now one member, my friend Mr. James Callaghan, is being assailed and such reserve becomes less tolerable. . . .

"It is untrue to suggest that Mr. Callaghan went out of his way to express opinions hostile to the Federation. On at least one occasion in Northern Rhodesia there was great dissatisfaction in the audience because he refused to answer a direct question on that subject."

Speaking in London, the Hon. Richard Wood, M.P., leader of the delegation, said that he had felt less happy about that country's political future than about its economic and social future. . . . The Africans they had met may have represented only a tiny fraction of the Native population, but they had found no Africans in Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia who were enthusiastic about the Federal experiment or even anxious to give it a fair trial. In Southern Rhodesia, however, the attitude of Africans was much less hostile. Two forces working against the Federation were the fear, completely without justification, that the Europeans would take the land of the Africans, and the frustrated feeling of politically minded Africans that federation meant the postponement in the expansion of African influence in the conduct of affairs in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Many Europeans were aware of that hostility; some were anxious about it, but others made light of it. "But," Mr. Wood said, "whatever the causes of this discontent, I regard it as a cancer in the body of the Federation, because if the Federation is to become a great nation it must be not only economically powerful, as it is already becoming, but politically content. A great deal will depend on what happens during the next few years. We saw plenty of evidence of honest intentions and good faith, but the Africans we met seemed unconvinced, to put it mildly. We cannot judge whether their fears and frustrations are justified. They do exist; and fear and frustration are not the foundations on which the Federation ought to be built." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 14, 1957.)

After the debate on the Constitution Amendment Bill, Sir Roy Welensky returned to his attack on the Labour Party. He said: "I greatly regret the words of the Labour spokesman who saw fit to bind his party in advance to renounce a solemn undertaking given by Her Majesty's Government to this country in April of this year. I am not so naïve to expect the Labour Party, should it come to power, to accept as suiting their book all the acts and undertakings of the Conservative Party now in power. But I do expect them to honour such agreements until and unless they can be changed by negotiation. I would like to say this to the Labour Party: if they so choose to dishonour and renounce agreements entered into, let them realize in full what they are dishonouring and denouncing. . . . Specifically they told us that it does not suit them to honour the acknowledgement given by Her Majesty's Government that a convention exists whereby Westminster will not initiate legislation on Federal matters except at the request of the Federal Government itself. This does not suit them. They refuse to accept that they cannot inflict on us by an Act of Parliament at Westminster, what I have already described as their half-baked ideas, and which I will now go on to call their remote applications of theory; remote because they themselves do not have to bear the brunt of their folly. This they do not like." Declaring that the Federation was approaching what could prove to be the most crucial years of its life, Sir Roy Welensky predicted that opponents of federation would use every means in their power to bring about the sort of African State to which the Federation as a whole was so opposed. "They will make full use of the propaganda machine of the Left which is so willingly lent to irresponsible causes, and which does not have to answer for its actions in this sphere of activity. They will whip up the masses, who, I say, categorically, have not the faintest idea of the full issues at stake. They will resist all attempts by the responsible Government to bridge the gap between Black and White, by means particularly of that tell-tale device of the boycott of responsible

people, responsible visitors and responsible organizations—and what better proof is there of their fear that contact with the truth is damaging to their irresponsible cause. . . . They won't acknowledge this, of course, because it does not suit their book. I say this to them, that what they are proposing to do is to make a mockery of democracy. This trend in some parts of British Africa is not going to flourish here." (*Federation Newsletter*, December 14, 1957.)

## No Bar to Independence

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, said nothing would stop the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from gaining independence. Sir Roy said that any suggestion of a break-up of the Federation "shocked" him. "Nothing in the constitution of the Federation permits a break-up nor will the United Kingdom Government pass legislation affecting the Federation except at our request. . . . I am not the slightest bit concerned whether a Conservative or Labour government is in power in Britain because I believe that nothing can stop this country gaining independence." He said that while he did not deny the right of the British Government to have a say in what happened in the Federation—"at the same time the future of the Federation will be decided here and nowhere else. Frankly," said Sir Roy, "we look forward to the day when we will take over the leadership of the African continent—and certainly of the British States in the continent." (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, November 17, 1957.)

## Prospects at the University

The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which has seventy students this year, has received 140 new applications, of which forty are from Africans and three from Indians. About thirty of the African applicants are expected to have the necessary entrance qualifications.

At present there are eight African students (seven men and one girl) and one Indian girl student. The African girl is already sharing the same residence as the White girls. White men applying for admission to the university have been told that there is not enough accommodation for all of them in the residence now occupied exclusively by White students. They have all been asked, privately, if they would object to living in the residence occupied by Africans. Of the eighty White men to whom this question was put, only two said that they would prefer a room in the European residence. Dr. Walter Adams, principal of the university, said that when the mixed residence was established next year the White and African students would, of course, eat at the same table. There is multi-racialism in sport. There is a mixed hockey team, and next year there will be mixed athletics teams. So far the African students have shown preference for soccer while the White students have taken to rugby. Nevertheless, the rugby team has an African student as a reserve and next year, perhaps, Africans will be putting their heads down with Whites in the scrums. On the question of affiliation to various sports unions, the university has been granted membership of the Hockey League, and can also play league cricket, but cannot take part in full league competitions. An application for affiliation to the Rugby Union in the Federation has been referred to the parent body in South Africa.

## Non-Whites Promoted in Federal Service

The first promotion of non-European members of the Federal Public Service from Branch II to Branch I has been announced. They are of three Asian and five coloured officers, seven of whom are teachers and one is an income tax clerk. The grades initially included in Branch II are coloured and Asian teachers (at the primary and secondary levels the Federal Government is responsible only for European, coloured and Asian education), African coloured and Asian State Registered nurses and certain other posts requiring qualifications at the degree or diploma level. It is expected that three Africans will have obtained registrable qualifications as doctors next year and so will be eligible for direct appointment to Branch I. (*South Africa*, December 14, 1957.)

## South African Watch on Partnership

The political correspondent of the *Rhodesia Herald* (December 7, 1957)

reported that the South African Nationalists were watching with close interest developments in the Federation: "If partnership fails, if the Federation's development towards full independence comes to a full stop because of opposition in Britain, then it is only natural and logical that the Whites in the Federation will start looking south for moral and perhaps other support. This, according to Nationalist opinion, would be the final proof that they were right and the Federation was wrong in the policy adopted to settle the race issue. If *apartheid* could score a signal victory over partnership it would not only simplify the increasingly difficult task of the Nationalists to keep the *apartheid* catch-word going. It would also disguise the fact that the Nationalist party has apparently completely run out of ideas. . . . The Nationalists do not like to be reminded that they stand alone in their race policies, that the possibility of leadership in Africa is slipping slowly but surely from their reach, that they run the danger of complete isolation not only in Africa but in the world."

## Office of Racial Affairs<sup>1</sup>

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said that the proposed new Federal Government Office of Racial Affairs would be an advisory body of experienced officials to provide a link between the Government and moderate-thinking Africans. The office would not be an executive department. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 23, 1957.)

The Rev. E. T. J. Nemapare, founder-leader of the African Methodist Church, said that the Racial Affairs Office to be created by the Federal Government and attached to the Prime Minister's office, will be closely watched by the African people—"watch" is the keyword to our approach. . . . The influence of the office upon the railways and postal administration in this country will be watched closely. It is common knowledge that the attitude and treatment of these Departments in respect of the African people leaves much to be desired." (*African Daily News*, November 8, 1957.)

## Schoolteacher Deported

The case of Mr. Ian Civil, the British-born schoolteacher who was deported from the Federation after nearly three years' residence, has been widely discussed by newspapers. The *News Chronicle* drew from this controversial incident the lesson that the Federation cannot yet be trusted to overcome racialism. The Minister of Home Affairs, Sir Malcolm Barrow, said that he could give no public reason for this deportation or make any comment on what he termed "this delicate matter".

Mr. Civil, a Buddhist and a widower of 39, said that after nine months in the Federation with very little contact with Africans, he went out of his way to remedy what he considered an unnatural state of affairs, and made numerous African friends. He thereupon received criticism from European neighbours in his Salisbury suburb. He transferred from teaching (he is a science graduate of London University) at a European school to one for Coloureds and Indians. His headmaster there described him as a "first-class teacher", and the Federal Education Department presented him, on his deportation, with the normal Certificate of Service, stating that he had been thoroughly satisfactory. His efforts to find out from Ministries the specific reason for his deportation were unavailing. Two attempts to gain an interview with Sir Malcolm Barrow were answered by the Minister's message that he saw "no useful purpose" in an interview.

The *Central African Examiner* (November 23, 1957) commented: "Another disturbing feature of the case is that Mr. Civil (or anyone else declared a prohibited immigrant in terms of Section 5 (1) (A) of the Immigration Act) has no right of appeal from the Minister's decision. The section cites as prohibited immigrants 'any person deemed by the Minister, or class of person deemed by the Governor-General on economic grounds, or on account of standard or habits of life, to be undesirable inhabitants, or to be unsuited to the requirements of the Federation'."

Why has the Federal Government taken this course against Mr. Civil? There has been no suggestion that he is a political agitator. If the Federal Government cannot show that it is not determined to deport an individual who practises what might be called advanced social integration, it will antagonize great parts of world opinion.

When the matter was raised in the Federal Parliament by Dr. A. Scott

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3.



(Independent) the Minister for Home Affairs, Sir Malcolm Barrow, refused to give any reasons.

Mr. W. M. Chirwa (African member for Nyasaland) said: "When deportations took place in Ghana, the newspapers attacked the Government of Ghana, and the Press of this country was not silent on the matter. This man has been treated in a very unworthy manner by the Government. He has lost his job, has been repatriated to England, and no explanation has been given to him. The only explanation given to the Press here and abroad was that he wanted to marry an African girl. It makes relationships between Europeans and Africans difficult. Africans feel that if they become friendly with Europeans who may be doing them good the Europeans may suffer." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 26, 1957.)

### "Partnership not yet a Reality"

The delegation from the United Kingdom branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association which visited the Federation said in its report, that it is quite clear that to the Africans and Asians there the term "partnership" is not yet a reality.

In the delegation's view, if the races in the territories are to live together in amity, the African community must be made to feel that it has a large political stake in the Federation. "This", it says, "would mean a bold increase in representative government in the territories, together with a substantial widening of African influence in the election of members of the Federal Assembly. These steps appear to us to be essential if African opinion is to be won over to full support of Federation." To succeed, Federation must not only go forward economically: "it is equally important that all the races in the three territories should believe that partnership is a reality and that there are solid advantages to all in making it work. All races have obligations, but the main burden for initiating this success must lie with those who are now in the position of responsibility."

The delegation says that the concept of partnership on which the Federation is based "has social as well as political and economic implications. At present only a few non-Europeans are able to associate with Europeans on terms of social equality and we should like to see them given every chance to do so. It is only by association that most of us developed our standards. . . . Social adjustments are always delicate and offer many pitfalls. Just how difficult they are no outsider can rightly assess. If they are not made we believe that partnership will not succeed."

"In the Federation, whose Constitution is based on partnership, we feel that all the manifestations of rigid classifications of races should be avoided, even though some of these classifications were imposed originally for the benefit of Africans. We should like to see it made possible for Europeans and non-Europeans alike, who come to their Federal capital on public business, to mix as freely as they desire: and we understand there is a site reserved for a Federal precinct which would be free of any territorial restrictions whether legal or conventional. It may be necessary to hasten on with this undertaking."

"We have seen African workers performing complicated mechanical operations and playing a large part in the industrial production of the area. . . . It is clear that, if Africans are going to play a large part in the economic expansion of the country, this will lose its true purpose unless it is accompanied by comparable improvement in social status. The dearth of contact between Europeans and Africans, except on the basis of employer and workman, is in our opinion dangerous."

The nature of the objections to federation among the Africans varied in the three territories but broadly there was, first, a fear that land at present farmed by Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would be taken away from them to be farmed by Europeans. "Although we found no substance for this fear," say the M.P.s, "it is extremely widespread." Secondly, there was a strong fear that the political advance of the African people towards representative government would be handicapped by the existence of the Federation. Opposition was found to be strongest in Nyasaland.

"Vocal leaders of African opinion in Nyasaland told us that they were ready to sacrifice the economic and financial advantages that accrued to them from federation. Indeed, they do not think much of these advantages. They argue that Nyasaland should receive greater financial help

from the Federation than she, in fact, does on the ground that she carries the biggest population and is the poorest of the three territories." The delegation adds that the demand for "full independence" for the Federation would entail as its principal change "the assumption of full responsibility for African affairs in the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland". The report comments: "We feel that the stable development of the Federal experiment will be impeded by premature pressure for the transfer of responsibility for African policy to the Federal Government."

Heading the delegation was Mr. Richard Wood, Joint Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance. The deputy leader was Mr. James Callaghan (Labour) and the other members were Mr. Charles Fletcher-Cooke (Conservative), Colonel J. H. Harrison, Lord of the Treasury. Mr. J. E. MacColl (Labour), Mr. G. A. Pargiter (Labour) and Major P. H. B. Wall (Conservative).

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 15, 1958) said there were two things to note about this report. "First, it is not against federation. The delegates give the advice they do because they are passionately anxious for federation to succeed. The second is that this is a broadly representative group of British M.P.s whose opinions are widely shared here. Some Rhodesians like to comfort themselves with the illusion that any criticism they dislike comes from 'left-wing extremists' to whom no attention need be paid. This report comes from four Conservative and three Labour M.P.s, none of whom could be described as extremists of any kind, and is unanimous."

## Northern Rhodesia

### New Legislation

THE Chief Secretary, Mr. E. D. Hone, introduced two new bills to the Legislative Council to enable the Government to maintain stricter control. Of the Emergency Powers (Amendment) Bill, Mr. Hone said that its purpose was to provide means of dealing with situations which might lead to action under the Emergency Powers Ordinance before such situations reached such a degree of gravity as to necessitate the declaration of a state of emergency.

If the Governor considered that any person or group of persons was taking or threatening action which, if continued unchecked, was likely to lead to the declaration of a state of emergency, he could make regulations under the Bill to prohibit, restrict, or otherwise regulate such actions. Unless previously revoked the regulations would remain in force for thirty days, unless extended by resolution of the Legislature. Whenever regulations were made under the Bill the Governor must appoint a commissioner to inquire into all the circumstances and to report his recommendations. The legislation could not be termed oppressive. It had been framed with the main object of providing a period of grace before the onset of a state of emergency, during which passions might be allowed to cool and the dictates of common sense allowed to prevail.

Under the new Societies Bill, organizations and their branches would have to register, so that effective supervision over their activities could be maintained. One clause gave the registrar of societies power to call for such information as might be necessary to determine whether a society, once registered, was being conducted properly.

A judge or magistrate would be empowered to issue search warrants where it was known or suspected that activities prejudicial to the maintenance of peace or activities of an unlawful nature had taken place or were about to take place. Another clause empowered the Governor to declare by order that in any area to which the order was specifically applied an authorized officer could search without warrant and remove the property of any society believed to be unlawful.

Mr. Hone continued: "The fact that legislation of this kind is placed on the Statute Book does not mean that the Government intends immediately to declare any particular society illegal. What is necessary is that the Government should have the power to control the lawless elements and be in full possession of the facts about all societies and organizations operating in the territory."

Mr. P. Sokota and Mr. S. H. Chileshe, African members, said that



Africans in general would interpret the Bill as designed to try and control African organizations. Since many African societies would not know about the Bill, they would become law-breakers through ignorance.

Mr. R. M. Nabulyato felt that the two Bills would make people begin to think that the Europeans of Northern Rhodesia, together with their Government, were beginning to erect legal fortifications against Africans because the time for constitutional talks was drawing near. That allegation was denied by Mr. H. Franklin, Member for Education and Social Services. The president of the African National Congress, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, sent a telegram to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, saying peace was threatened in Northern Rhodesia. Northern Rhodesia Africans, he said, protested strongly against recent legislation in the Territory and he asked that the British Government should not allow the Societies Bill and the Penal Code Amendment Bill to become law.

Previously Mr. Hone had said that there was no evidence, as suggested in the *Northern News*, that there was a Congress "army" in training or that Congress was running schools for hooligans and teaching children songs of hatred towards Europeans. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 28 and December 19, 1957.)

Cyril Dunn in the *Observer* (December 1, 1957) commented: "The Government has in fact brought in remarkable new laws, plainly designed to clip the wings of Congress, if not to shoot it down completely. Against these edicts Mr. Nkumbula has protested to the British Prime Minister, and now waits with evident anxiety the next turn of events."

Under the heading "Is Trouble Brewing?" the *Central African Examiner* (December 7, 1957) said that the legislation passed was inspired by the violence shown by some Congress members during the beer-hall boycotts months ago. These petered out without official repression, but the Government is understandably determined to have better weapons henceforth to face any similar situation. Having armed themselves with these powers, the members of the Government now need urgently to show that they will not use them lightly and that this is not the start of a concerted plan to put down any overt African opposition. For the powers were voted in fear of trouble, and fear begets fear. The Legislative Council was obviously wise to reject Mr. Gaunt's motion to ban Congress outright, but seemed to approve of the suggestion that Nkumbula should be prosecuted for sedition, "if the Crown can make out a case" against him. Such action would undoubtedly precipitate violence, which few would defend as necessary. More wise would be a very limited use of the Societies Bill's provisions in order to tame the wilder Congress branches.

### Railway Sabotage

An African was sentenced to twenty years' hard labour for tampering with the railway line near Lusaka and causing the derailment of a train.

Mr. Garfield Todd, Premier of S. Rhodesia, commented: "Even if such major crimes as the wrecking of a train in Northern Rhodesia cannot be attributed directly to the African National Congress, can it side-step the guilt when its actions and statements build up an atmosphere of boycott, strike and violence?"

The president of the N. Rhodesian African National Congress, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, gave a categorical warning to members of Congress that violence would not be tolerated by its leaders. Mr. Nkumbula appealed to European critics of Congress to be more reserved and moderate in their statements. "They should not incite people to believe or think that Congress is aiming at violence," he said. (*Central African Post*, December 2 and 4, 1957.)

### Boycotters Sentenced

At Fort Jameson seven out of nine Africans were accused of conspiring to injure the owner of a garage and milling business which had been boycotted after an African had been dismissed. The magistrate found that the garage and mill had not in fact been the employer of the African concerned, but that the business had suffered. Four of the accused who were Congress officials were sentenced to eighteen months and three others to twelve months.

Benson Ngwiri, a member of Congress, was found guilty of "watching and besetting". He had prevented prospective customers from entering a

store near Fort Jameson which was being boycotted. He was sentenced to a fine of £10 or two months in prison, and went to prison. (*Central African Post*, October 30 and November 1, 1957.)

### A South African's impressions

Stanley Uys, reporting in the *Johannesburg Sunday Mail* (November 24 and December 15, 1957) on a recent visit, found that in 1956 the total earnings of the 6,852 White miners on the Copperbelt were £15,724,696—an average earning per employee of £2,295 in contrast to the fact that in the same year the 39,035 African miners received £5,480,266 in cash earnings (£6,246,164 if cost of food is added)—an average earning per employee of £160.

Other points he made were "the fact must be admitted that many of the White miners on the Copperbelt are not happy about African advancement, but they accepted the principle in 1955 and they must abide by it. Their fear that the mining companies are seeking to replace highly-skilled White labour with lower-paid, skilled African labour has caused them, however, to insist on 'the rate for the job'. Thus they can shelter behind a good old trade union principle and, in practice, uphold the industrial colour bar. . . . There are four miners' unions on the Copperbelt—two White and two African unions. Two of these unions, the (European) Mine Officials and Salaried Staff Association and the Mines African Staff Association, give no trouble. They represent the senior, more highly paid Whites and Africans and their function is not to give the managements sleepless nights. But they are both small unions. The (European) Mine Workers' Union, on the other hand, is a big, affluent union with a marked disposition to striking. Between January 31, 1956, and July 11, 1957, there were no fewer than fourteen strikes of White miners, all of which (in the opinion of the Honeymen commission) were unconstitutional. . . . As for the African Mines Workers' Union, it was also involved in a series of strikes, although not of such a frivolous nature as the White unions' strikes. . . . After the state of emergency had been declared, Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the African Mine Workers' Union, hastened back to the Copperbelt (he had been absent) and advised all union members to return to work, which most of them did. Mr. Katilungu is now trying desperately to build up the union into a 'responsible' body. He told me the union has 10,000 to 15,000 members (out of a potential 35,000), but others say the figure is not above 5,000."

Mr. Uys also described the clashes between the two African Unions and between the A.M.U. and the African National Congress. On the subject of Congress he quoted Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia, as saying: "Frankly we have reached a point of frustration, and when people are frustrated they tend to go to extremes. . . . For years we Africans have been very moderate in our demands. We want Black and White to live together in peace, sharing the government of the country. But our demands are ignored. We can fight the constitutional way, which is the best way. We will try that method. But during the campaign certain developments could take place. Anything could happen."

### First African Barrister

Mr. Mathias Mainza has passed his bar final examination in London and will be the first Northern Rhodesian African to become a barrister-at-law. Mr. Mainza went to Britain in 1955 on a Government scholarship. Before going overseas he wrote a novel in Chitonga, *Kabuca Uleta Tunji*, which won him the Margaret Wrong silver medal for 1956. (*Central African Post*, November 6, 1957.)

### First African Joins Federal Party

Mr. Godwin Lewanika, president of the Mines' Staff Association, is the first Northern Rhodesian African to join the Federal Party. Mr. Lewanika will probably be one of the Party's candidates in the next general election. Mr. Lewanika said: "I can understand why at present the idea of federation is still unpopular with most Africans in the Northern Territories. It is because the Government is entirely in the hands of

Europeans. The only way to avoid that is for reasonable and far-sighted Africans to join the Federal Party." (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 6, 1957.)

### Is Partnership Humbug?

Quoting, Mr. J. Roberts, Member for Lands and Local Government, as saying "I think most people know African children have certain customs which are instilled into them from birth and which are quite abhorrent and repugnant to the European and his child", from which he goes on to deduce that it would be quite 'unthinkable to integrate the education of the two races, Sir Stewart Gore-Browne wrote to the *Central Africa Post* (November 6, 1957) saying: "My own experience, for what it is worth, based on nearly forty years' residence amongst one of the largest tribes in this country, is that African children are at least as strictly brought up in all matters of common decency, courtesy, respect for their elders—what one may call general good behaviour—as European children. But perhaps I am mistaken. In the same issue you quote the Rhodesia Railways Administration as announcing that it is out of the question to expect a European to travel in the same railway carriage as an African. Assuming, as one must, that both Mr. Roberts and the railways are right, what becomes of the much advertised experiment in partnership in the Federation we hear so much about? Is it perhaps just humbug, as some of us have suspected for a considerable time?"

### New Inter-Racial Party

About 200 people attended the first public meeting of the newly-formed multi-racial Constitution Party in Lusaka. The speakers included Dr. Alexander Scott, Independent Federal M.P., Mr. S. H. Chileshe, M.L.C., and Mr. H. Thornicroft, president of the Eurafican Association.

The Rev. M. M. Temple, chairman of the Party, said: "We believe that democracy is a possibility here; but not a universal franchise. That would be disastrous. I believe that there are today in this country a great number of Africans who have the right, if not more right, to be on the voters' roll than some Europeans who are here today and gone tomorrow." Mr. Temple said that the policy of White domination by force was not practical. But neither was African nationalism. "We do not believe we have yet advanced to the position where, if Africans took control, they would be able to maintain the services so necessary to our country." (*Central African Post*, November 20, 1957.)

The draft constitution of the new Party stated that the Party will endeavour to secure as a condition of self-government the adoption in successive stages of "written constitutions" drawn up in the spirit of the Preamble.

These constitutions would embody the following principles: That men of all races are born equal before God; that man's fulfilment of his responsibility to fellow men is the essential foundation of a community, and that the State is under an obligation to protect and advance the moral, material and cultural standards of its people.

The constitution would recognize the fact that membership of the State carried with it "responsibility to be exercised for the common good, and that all voters shall be registered on one common Voters' Roll". Until such time as the new Constitution had been accepted, the Party would consider itself bound by the present Federal Constitution, and in particular, the Preamble, and would only approve such legislation as is consistent with the Constitution. (*African Eagle*, November 26, 1957.)

The *Central African Post* (November 22, 1957) commented: The Constitutionalists comprise a party which is multi-racial. Inextricably tied up with its concept is the franchise. It sounds fine to proclaim that government must be by consent of the governed. It sounds fine to say that the franchise will be so qualified that it will bring in as voters a large number of Africans on a common roll. But . . . what the people want to know is exactly where the Party stands on the franchise problem, what its proposed qualifications are.

"No party can hope for success unless it concerns itself with economics—what does the Constitution Party propose in respect of the cost of living? It is to be hoped that its leaders will not talk in airy-fairy terms about inflation and deflation, but get down to basic principles and methods which they believe will reduce costs."

## Nyasaland

### Congress Proposals for Constitutional Reform<sup>1</sup>

THE Nyasaland Government has invited interested parties to submit suggestions for the proposed constitutional reform due to take place in 1960. The invitation followed the publication by the Nyasaland African Congress of its proposals which had already been submitted to the Governor. Congress demanded a Legislative Council of forty, of whom two shall be *ex-officio* and six non-Africans in reserved seats for the time being. The Executive Council should be elevated to cabinet status with the leader of the majority party in the Legislative Council nominating five to nine M.L.C.s to the Executive Council, all to be ministers. Non-Africans should be returned on their own roll as at present and Africans should be returned on their own roll on the principle of universal adult suffrage.

At present there are six non-African (European) and five African elected M.L.C.s and twelve officials with the Governor as president in Legco. The five African M.L.C.s, all Congressmen, were elected by three African Provincial Councils in 1956 and non-Africans by voters' rolls. (*Central African Post*, November 27, 1957.)

At an emergency conference held at Blantyre on January 1-2 attended by delegates from in and outside Nyasaland, Congress passed a resolution to the effect that the constitutional proposals put forward by their delegates were the minimum required to achieve security for the Africans of Nyasaland in view of the threat of perpetual white domination which has increased in alarming proportions since the imposition of Federation, and that Congress would not accept any constitutional arrangement imposed on the country by the small vocal minority of settlers.

Other resolutions condemned the Government for refusing a visa to the President General to attend the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo; called on all Africans to have nothing to do with federal representation but to reject it completely; and condemned any of those who stand or register as voters as sell-outs and quislings, thanked the five African Members of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, Chiefs and all their people who boycotted the visit of the Governor-General to Nyasaland. The resolution added: "This Conference notes the existence of the Governor of Nyasaland Protectorate and does not recognize the existence of the Governor-General of Federation, as the people of Nyasaland are still opposed to this wanton scheme."

### Opposition to the Federalization of Non-African Agriculture<sup>2</sup>

A resolution demanding the immediate boycott of all Legislative Council meetings by the five M.L.C.s of Nyasaland—who are all members of Congress—was passed unanimously by the Blantyre Branch of the African National Congress. The resolution said the boycott should be maintained until and unless the Government dropped its proposals to federalize non-African agriculture, and that Africans should be given universal adult suffrage.

European (or non-African) Agriculture is a Federal responsibility in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. The move being taken by the Federal and Nyasaland Governments is to make non-African agriculture in Nyasaland a Federal responsibility as well, so that it can be unified on a Federal-wide basis. Congress maintains that federalization of non-African agriculture will be the thin end of the wedge into their land rights. (*African Daily News*, November 10, 1957.)

### Desire for Secession

Cyril Dunn reporting on a meeting he had at Nkata Bay with Nyasaland leaders, said: "People were saying that Nyasaland could go forward to full self-government, within the Federation. But this, said the old men, was not what they had been promised by Queen Victoria. The British had undertaken to protect them until they were capable of ruling their own country. But now, when that day had almost come, they were being given away to the White Rhodesians."

"The idea that Africans may confidently stay inside the Federation

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 1 and 3.

because they will still be free, when the time comes, to govern the country as they wish, is received in Nkata Bay with the blindest disbelief. Tonga men are eager travellers and have regularly gone, as they say, 'abroad' to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. In North Nyasaland, Africans have virtually no experience of White settlement. It is, above all else, because of what the travelling Tongas have seen happening to Africans in these other countries run by White men that they are now such ardent secessionists." (*Observer*, November 24, 1957.)

## Declaration of Human Rights Unsuitable for Schools

Sir Leslie Plummer (Labour) asked the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons what proposals had been made by the Nyasaland Government to provide a version of the United Nations universal declaration of human rights suitable for use in African schools.

Mr. John Profumo, Colonial Under-Secretary, replied: "None, sir. The view of the Government of Nyasaland is that the terminology of such documents is such that they are not generally suitable for nor understandable by schoolchildren in Nyasaland. I have been in communication with the Governor on this matter, but his view remains unaltered."

## Cuts in Development Plan

Between £1 million and £1½ million is to be pruned from Nyasaland's four-year development plan. Most Government departments are affected. The Financial Secretary, Mr. H. E. I. Phillips, has said that Nyasaland would be "feeling the draught in the next few years, as will other territories in the Federation, through the fall in the price of copper which has been greater than expected and because of loan difficulties." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 12, 1957.)

# Southern Rhodesia

## Cabinet Crisis

AFTER all four members of the Cabinet had resigned because they have "lost confidence in the leadership of the Prime Minister", Mr. Garfield Todd, Mr. Todd announced his new Cabinet as follows: Mines, Lands, and Surveys—Sir George Davenport; Treasury, Local Government, and Housing—Mr. A. E. Abrahamson; Justice, Internal Affairs and Labour—Mr. A. D. H. Lloyd; Native Affairs and Irrigation—Mr. Eric Palmer; Native Agriculture, Marketing, and Native Education—Mr. Ralph Palmer.

It was announced that the United Federal Party would hold a special congress early in February. Of the twenty-five U.F.P. M.P.s in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament of twenty-nine voting members, thirteen were reported to be opposed to Mr. Todd.

A meeting of 200 African members of the United Federal Party expressed support for Mr. Todd. They said in a resolution that they were perturbed by the action of the former Ministers in resigning "on the question of African advancement. If this spirit were to continue to be the guide in the policies of this land, Africans will be left with no alternative but to break faith completely with Europeans. Obviously good future race relations will be a pipe dream if the present policy of Southern Rhodesia, which is by no means liberal, is not liberalized further. We would like to pledge our support of Mr. Todd and his broadminded and progressive policy and of the brave stand he has taken in the Cabinet crisis in the interests of the country as a whole." (*The Times*, January 15 and 16, 1958.)

*The Times* (January 17, 1958) reported that moves were being made to try to find a compromise solution to the deadlock. Sir George Davenport, M.P. for Queque, a member of Mr. Todd's new Government and, on earlier occasions, a member for many years of Southern Rhodesia Cabinets headed by Lord Malvern (then Sir Godfrey Huggins), was being suggested as a neutral member of the Party under whom both factions would be prepared to serve at least until the next general election.

Colin Legum commented that there was a clash of policies on racial issues between the moderate and the reactionary elements of the United Federal Parliament;<sup>1</sup> Mr. Todd belonged to the moderate wing of the Party.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 1.

"The present crisis came to a head over Mr. Todd's recent insistence on imposing a basic wage for Africans on industry and because he championed an Industrial Conciliation Bill which aims to extend trade unionism to Africans."

Cyril Dunn said: "This crisis will no doubt come as a shock to those who believe that the Whites of the Central African Federation are sincere in their declared policy of racial partnership. For among White politicians nobody supports African advancement more vigorously than Mr. Todd. This does not mean that Mr. Todd is an extreme liberal. His attitude to Africans is strictly paternal. He clearly suspects that the African National Congress is a subversive movement." (*Observer*, January 12, 1958.)

*East Africa and Rhodesia* (January 16, 1958) commented:

"Have the Ministers who have resigned taken sufficient account of the basic fact that inter-racial partnership is the very foundation of the Federation and that anything which appears to contravene that policy, freely accepted by the electorates of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, will be regarded by the outer world as a breach of Rhodesia's pledge? . . . Only by faithfulness to that promise will the Federation survive, let alone thrive. Nicely calculated less or more support for opportunism will avail Rhodesia nothing in the long run, or even in the middle term, for the price of appeasing the reactionary wing of the United Federal Party would be a breach of faith which could undermine the confidence of many influential people who are working for the progress of the Federation, and simultaneously and permanently alienate capable Africans who are not now anti-European but would suddenly become so if they believed that Mr. Todd, in whom they have great faith, had been deprived of leadership because he had insisted on dealing as fairly, realistically and practically as possible with African needs, grievances and expectations. . . .

"If the movement to displace Mr. Todd at an early date should succeed . . . it would constitute the most discreditable transaction in Southern Rhodesia's political history."

The merger between United Rhodesia Party led by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and the Federal Party led by the Federal Prime Minister and the formation of the United Federal Party has also been followed by resignations.

Two leading African members of the U.R.P. expressed lack of confidence in Sir Roy Welensky, Mr. Leopold Takawira, formerly U.R.P. chairman at Highfield, said: "To my mind, most Africans who matter have no confidence in Sir Roy Welensky and doubt his motives and intentions. The Federal Prime Minister's constant attacks on African leaders who do not agree with him have made me and many Africans of my way of thinking doubt the wisdom of remaining in the United Federal Party under Sir Roy." African leaders of all shades of political opinion had believed that the U.R.P. was doing its best to improve the lot of the African people. "But since fusion, Mr. Todd has, judging from his recent speeches, changed the bold stand he had taken and is trying to prove that he can be tough with the Africans."

Similar feelings were expressed by Mr. J. Bassoppo-Moyo, who has resigned as chairman of the former U.R.P.'s biggest African branch, that at Harari. "Since Mr. Todd got married to Sir Roy," he said, "the atmosphere has changed. If Mr. Todd had formed an opposition party, I am sure that a great many people would have joined him." He added that he had not yet decided on his future course, but thought that he might join the Dominion Party. "I will join any party that is in opposition to Sir Roy Welensky and the U.F.P." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 14, 1957.)

Mr. H. Wightwick, M. P., in a letter of resignation, emphasized his disagreements with Southern Rhodesia's Premier, Mr. Todd, on several issues, culminating with the Government's order of higher minimum wages for Africans. The *Rhodesia Herald*, which supports the Government, thought that Mr. Wightwick represented a strong section of the extreme Right wing which has long been dissatisfied with Mr. Todd's leadership. (*Manchester Guardian*, December 30, 1957.)

## Franchise and Delimitation

The *Central African Examiner* (November 23) described a strange game of hide-and-seek being played over the Africans enfranchised under the new Southern Rhodesian Electoral Amendment Act. It said: "A month ago, the special voters' roll was opened and, of the 10,000 expected to



qualify by earning £120 a year or having a Standard VIII education, only a handful have come forward to register. The first explanation, that this is a symptom of the well-known African apathy, did not sound very convincing when it was remembered that 500 Africans enrolled on the higher qualification of £240 during a registration campaign earlier this year."

The real reason that leading Salisbury Africans gave was that they were postponing their enrolment campaign until after the Delimitation Commission had reported, for fear that the African voting strength in the Hunyani and Braeside constituencies would be reduced.

The figures for the two constituencies give their respective electorates as 1,972 and 1,970, out of a total of 54,515 voters in the thirty constituencies. The Commission's terms of reference allow them to vary 15 per cent on either side of the Colony's average (for ease of communications and to overcome physical obstacles of land). On these calculations, the Colony's average electorate would be 1,817 and each constituency would need to be within the bracket of 1,545 to 2,089 voters. If there are 1,000 more voters who could register in each of the present Braeside and Hunyani constituencies, at least 800 from these enlarged constituencies (1,600 in all) would need to be redistributed.

The *Central African Examiner* commented: "It is inevitable that the first election after the widening of the franchise should have a strong racial element, however much Ministers and officials may deplore it. But there is a growing hope, among many shades of opinion, that an African may be elected (possibly through a split European vote) and the common roll system, without special representation, be vindicated at this important time. For this reason as well, it is most unlikely that fears of possible jerryandering in the Salisbury African townships are well founded."

### Congress Attacked and Defended

Mr. Garfield Todd, the Prime Minister, attacked the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress and Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock in a speech at a Bulawayo banquet. "We have been for the past three months concerning ourselves with the preparation of further security legislation of a restrictive nature—legislation which could be used to restrict the freedom of both individuals and organizations. When the A.N.C. was formed, its leader, Mr. Nkomo, was well educated, capable and responsible and the constitution was a reasonably responsible document," Mr. Todd said. But the aims and influence of Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock (of St. Faith's Mission, Rusape) and the responsibility of other Congress leaders were unknown. "The best thing to do was to wait and see what kind of fruit the tree would bear. Mr. George Nyandoro has in effect supplanted Mr. Nkomo in leadership, and, with other Congress members, campaigns against those Africans who wish to take their place among the civilized and responsible community which governs Southern Rhodesia." Mr. Todd urged Congress leaders—"particularly Mr. Clutton-Brock and Mr. Nyandoro"—to co-operate with the Government in maintaining racial harmony and law and order.

In reply Mr. Clutton-Brock issued a statement which said, *inter alia*: "The Prime Minister has been gravely misinformed with regard to my relationship with the African National Congress. I am in no sense whatever a leader of the Congress. I am an ordinary member of the Southern Rhodesian Congress, having joined because—(1) I believe that its statement of principles and policy and programme is entirely non-racial and provides the soundest political policy for this country which has yet been produced; (2) Congress is a movement for ordinary people, of a social and educational as well as a political nature, and as one who has always lived and worked among ordinary people, it is there that I most readily find my place; (3) It is particularly important for racial harmony that Europeans should as freely join organizations initiated by Africans as that Africans should join organizations initiated by Europeans. I gave considerable help in framing the statement of principles, policy and programme, but not the constitution. I have on occasions been asked for advice by members of the Executive of Congress, and my advice has always been given on the side of moderation. My view is that Congress should build up an organization working along constitutional lines and designed to lay the foundations of a stable, democratic and non-racial social order in which all people of whatever race in this country may have full confidence. I have no knowledge whatever of the alleged occurrences or actions

to which the Prime Minister has referred. I should be surprised and very disturbed to find that any action of this nature had emanated from Congress policy or practice, or was in any way the result of the prevailing spirit among Congress members. If I had evidence of actions of this nature on the part of Congress, I would myself, and I have no doubt that all responsible members of Congress would also, bring all possible influence to bear to avoid such distortion of Congress policy in the future. If this was not effective, I would feel bound to resign, as no doubt would others also. I cannot myself agree with violence in any form under any circumstances, and I agree with the Prime Minister that in Southern Rhodesia there are democratic ways of approach to authority. These are still open and should be used to the full so that they may open more widely." (*Sunday Mail*, December 1 and 8, 1957.)

In an address to the National Affairs Association, Mr. Clutton-Brock said of Congress: "We can thank God it has not yet taken—and I hope it never will take—any international totalitarian form. It was a grave mistake for the Government or anyone else to underestimate the strength of feeling. It was no solution to say 'Join the Federal Party'. Congress was supported by the Common Man because it was initiated by the Common Man. In this country the Common Man is almost entirely identifiable with the African. So the attraction of Congress lies largely in the fact that it is African initiated. The Congress movement finds its articulate expression through what are called 'leaders'. They are not self-appointed nor yet always democratically elected. They emerge and are followed if they are in tune with the people." The fundamental objective of Congress was to effect essential changes peacefully and by constitutional means—"and I believe this is true of all the Congresses in the Federation. The aims of Congress were mainly political at present, as the disabilities most keenly felt could only be remedied by political means. . . ." The A.N.C. was non-racial in its approach. Mr. Clutton-Brock went on: "I have never heard anything said in public or private, or seen anything written, to indicate that Congress leaders or members are against the European or White man as such, or want him to leave the country, or want the African or Black man as such to have a monopoly of the vote and of membership of the legislatures."

In each territory the reaction of those who held political power had been much the same: difficulties were put in the way of Congress and of people joining it. Police interviewed prospective officials, leaders were deported.

"I believe that the biggest danger to the peace of Central Africa is the attempt to discredit the African National Congress which has gone on over the last few years. We have a Prime Minister who is a fine man, but he is subject to considerable pressures. I hope the pressures to discredit and suppress the Congresses before 1960 will not prove too great for him." (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 14, 1957.)

### African Advancement

Mr. A. M. Wakatama, aged 40, will take charge of a "primary teachers' higher course" at the American Methodist Mission at Old Umtali. A graduate of Fort Hare University, who took a M.A. in Education at the University of London, he will be in charge of about one hundred students, and his staff will probably consist of two Europeans and two Africans, in addition to industrial demonstrators, who also take school classes. These demonstrators are all Africans except for a European woman supervisor for girls' industrial subjects. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 14, 1957.)

Stanley Uys compared the position of Mr. Herbert W. Chitepo, the only African barrister in Southern Rhodesia, with that of Mr. D. Nokwe, the only African barrister in Johannesburg. Mr. Chitepo and Mr. Nokwe were fellow students at Fort Hare University. Mr. Chitepo has recently been appointed as a member of the Plewman Commission<sup>1</sup> of inquiry into African urbanization, while Mr. Nokwe has been barred from the lawyers' robing room in Johannesburg Supreme Court<sup>2</sup> and prevented from finding chambers. "Herbert Chitepo, on the other hand, came to Salisbury and found that under the old Land Apportionment Act he was prevented from occupying premises in a White area, so he set about getting the Act changed, and it was duly amended. Today barristers (only barristers) are permitted to take up chambers in the White cities. It took Herbert Chitepo a year to get the Act changed, which is not particularly long considering that segregation dies slowly."

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 3. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST IV, 3.



Mr. Uys wrote: "To me the story of Herbert Chitepo is important. It tells—in part at least—the bigger story of what is happening in the Federation. It provides the answer to the question: Will *apartheid* ever cross the Limpopo? And the answer is 'No'.

"There is racial segregation in Salisbury; plenty of it. Herbert Chitepo cannot dine in any of the White man's restaurants or spend a night in the White man's hotels. Nor are most of Salisbury's suburban living-rooms open to him. But that we know already; that is racial segregation as millions of Africans know it—to their cost. . . .

"To compare it with race discrimination as practised in the Federation is ludicrous. It is like comparing the devil in all his glory with a lame old cart horse that knows it is now going to make the hill." (*Sunday Times* (Johannesburg), November 17, 1957.)

### Prime Minister Discusses Race Relations

The Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, said he was not in favour of integration, and he did not wish to integrate the schools. "Such action would not only be quite impossible but, under the conditions which exist in Southern Rhodesia, would not be in the interests of either African or European. I have continually worked, and will continue to work, for justice and fair play for all sections of our community, for justice is indivisible. Either it is extended to all people or it will pass from the land."

The Prime Minister added: "Never have I recommended integration and I hold that inter-marriage of Europeans with Africans is quite undesirable. Much more undesirable is intercourse outside marriage. I also object most strongly to disparaging statements about people of mixed race. Despite all the special problems and difficulties they face they can turn out to be as worthy citizens as anyone else. I voted against a miscegenation resolution in Parliament, not because I did not agree that miscegenation was undesirable, but because I object to laws which cannot be enforced without unwarranted interference with the rights of the individual." (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 28, 1957.)

### Disastrous Education Economies

Fr. Reginald Smith, C.R. (of St. Augustine's Mission, Penhalonga), described serious shortcomings in African education. He said: "The average European knows little about African education, but he has a vague idea that the Government does it handsomely and well. Now it is true that there has been considerable progress in the last few years. We have a Prime Minister who understands the subject and cares for it. . . . But there are certain very serious shortcomings. In the first place, it is not assumed that elementary education is the natural right of every child. People already bear the whole cost of building their village schools, but education in this country is a Government monopoly. . . . The Government crack their whip and demand our loyalty, but they do not deliver the goods. Again, about one-third of all African teachers are trained and the rest are men who have had about eight years schooling. They are graded as Standard VI. Now the Government has forbidden us to engage any additional Standard VI teachers, and then last November, we received a circular which read as follows: 'As expenditure is exceeding the vote, no new uncertificated teachers may be appointed from January 1, 1958. . . . The effect of this second step is disastrous. . . . This is the stupidest and most retrogressive step that I have known the Department take in my twenty-three years' experience.'" (*Rhodesia Herald*, December 27, 1957.)

### Change to Cash Economy Urged

The report of the Urban Areas Board urged that an all-in cash wage be paid to African labour, but it recognized that this would not fit in with the present system of "subsidized rent" and rations. The report stressed these points: "The need for a stable and efficient labour force, the desire for an all-in cash economy, the growth of and need for improved relationships, the need for training and the role of management. To achieve stability the labour force must be in good health, should be content in its home life and have a satisfactory labour relationship. Efficiency came from aptitude education and training plus incentive. Inadequate housing had a great effect on the stability of labour. The time had come when the African

must be allowed to choose his own food, purchase it in the open market and not be fed under guidance by his employer.

"Referring to relationships between African employees and European employers the report says that there is no doubt that the attitude of the European employer has improved markedly in the last few years. At the same time the influx of educated Africans into industry has led to an advance in the African's sense of responsibility to his employer, 'but there is still a very long way to go'. The difficulty of this problem lies in the daily relationship between individuals. Long-term results will only be achieved by wearing down existing prejudices and replacing them with an atmosphere of co-operation for mutual benefit between employer and employee." (*Federation Newsletter*, December 31, 1957.)

### Local Government Reform<sup>1</sup>

The Native Councils Act came into force at the end of 1957. Under it local councils have the power to raise money by rates levied on personal property, whereas in the past their income was derived from poll tax. Previously membership of Native Councils, which have been in existence for ten years, has had to be approved by the Governor: in the future it will be dependent on election only. The Native Commissioners continue to be chairmen of the councils, but they are empowered when they retire to nominate a chairman or leave the decision to a council vote. The Government will retain control over the executive staff of the councils. Responsibility for carrying out the decision of a council rests on the council's officers who are responsible not only to the council but indirectly to the Government. It is planned eventually to have a form of Native council officers' service with grades and conditions. All staff appointments have to be approved by the Government, and if necessary the Government will have the power to insist on dismissal of staff. (*Federation Newsletter*, January 10, 1958.)

### Engineering Union Independent

The Rhodesian branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union have broken away from the South African A.E.U. The local divisional secretary, Mr. D. V. Muller, said that because the South African union was no longer recognized by the executive of the union in Britain, Bulawayo had become the headquarters of the A.E.U. in Africa. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 6, 1957.)

### South African Nationalists Buy Land

Thousands of acres of land in the northern part of Southern Rhodesia and in the southern Nuanetsi area have come under the control of South African companies with Nationalist politicians on the board of directors. One company alone, Miami Estates, has bought about 27,000 acres in the Urungwe area.

Mr. Paul Sauer is on the board of directors of Miami Estates. Listed in the Southern Rhodesia records as a farmer, Mr. Sauer is better known as South Africa's Minister of Lands and Water Affairs. Mr. Jacobus Johannes Fouché, Administrator of the Free State, is also on the board. Mr. Martinus Johannes Bekker and Dr. Johannes Christian Rabie, who are concerned with land deals, are South African senators. Mr. Pieter Martheus Kruger le Roux, a farmer in Rhodesia's records, is a Member of Parliament and Chief Whip of the Nationalist Party.

The main object of the Miami Estates is to buy farms. The company was formed in 1950 with a registered capital of £70,000. Miami Estates has a bond of £55,000 over its Rhodesian property. The firm which lent money on bond is a South African insurance company, one of the directors of which is Mr. Sauer. (*South Africa*, November 30, 1957.)

### Current Trends?

The following advertisement appeared in *The (Bulawayo) Citizen* (November 15, 1957). "Segregation Society is appalled at speed with which inter-racialism is progressing in Southern Rhodesia. For the past two years we have done our best to warn Rhodesians of the extreme dangers facing them. We believe it is not only extreme folly but is indeed criminal to pursue a policy which aims at ultimate equality in all spheres between White and Black. It is only common sense that a race which for thousands

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 1 and 5.

of years had not advanced beyond a primeval existence cannot in a mere sixty years achieve equality with highly civilized and cultured races. Those who know the Native mentally well, realize that he can never become a synthetic White man, and the final result of the wishful thinking of those who fondly imagine that the only difference is the colour of the skin will be the general exodus of the Europeans from Central Africa. Join the Segregation Society and help us to fight this insidious peril."

When Mr. D. Hamilton, secretary of the Salisbury branch of the Capricorn Africa Society, addressed a meeting at Chipinga, two resolutions were passed unanimously: one, that the meeting had no confidence whatsoever in the society. Furthermore, it wished to place on record the fact that it considered it a gross impertinence on the part of such a society, which advocated integration of the races, to hold public meetings in a country which had been made wholly by the efforts and prestige of the White man. It considered it even more of an impertinence for them to hold public meetings in Gazaland and the Eastern Districts. The meeting was well attended by an audience which included many early settlers. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 28, 1957.)

## EAST AFRICA Kenya

### Opinions Expressed on the New Constitution<sup>1</sup>

THE African Elected Members announced in November that they might go to the country for a vote of confidence from their people. They said that they regarded as "a serious challenge" Mr. Lennox-Boyd's statement that he could not regard the African elected members as representative of African opinion as a whole.

Their statement spoke of "the now common attempts at self-deception and wishful thinking on the part of those who have failed to have the courage to face the mistakes of their hypocritical policies. . . . The intention is to override any African opposition or opinion under one pretext or another. This has been a familiar feature of Kenya's tattered political development and we are surprised that even a man of Mr. Lennox-Boyd's capacity has failed to learn from past experience."

African leaders from many parts of Kenya unreservedly endorsed the action of the elected members in rejecting the constitutional changes. This conference was called after the elected members had offered to resign if necessary to enable the electorate to express its opinion on the constitutional proposals.

The African elected members boycotted the Legislative Council debate on the Bill to increase African membership from eight to fourteen. An amendment was made which will enable Kikuyu, Embu and Meru to vote and stand for election in areas other than the Central Province and the Nairobi extra-provincial district. The Acting Chief Secretary, Mr. E. N. Griffiths-Jones, Q.C., said that it was the Government's intention to review the regulations for voting registration before the elections in 1960. The Bill was passed through all stages in thirty minutes. (*The Times*, January 17, 1958.)

The views of the Asian Elected Members of the Legislative Council were given in a Press statement issued on November 29, 1957, by Mr. J. M. Nazareth, M.L.C. He pointed out that the proposals contained in the Colonial Secretary's statement of November 8, 1957, were not in final form. The statement continued: "Nevertheless it is considered it must now be stated that the proposals as they stand are unsatisfactory and inadequate in important respects, whether from the point of view of the Asian community or of the country as a whole. The elected representation of the Asian community including the 'selective' Members will in 1958 amount to only nine Members compared to a European representation of eighteen Members, to which are to be added the two Corporate Members who are Europeans, are closely associated with the European Elected Members and who will remain part of the Legislative Council until 1960. The under-

representation of the Asian Community which outnumbers the European Community by nearly three to one has unfortunately not been remedied. . . . Whereas the Europeans in 1958 will have fourteen elected seats representative of the European Community, the Asians will have only six elected seats.

"The additional three Asian Members (and the additional one Arab Member), the additional four European Members and the additional four African Members, will be elected by the whole Legislative Council acting as an electoral college. As the Legislative Council now comprises an overwhelming number of European Members compared with Asian Members, or even non-European Members taken together, the Asians and other non-Europeans will have no effective voice in the choice of the Asian or other non-European Members respectively. On the other hand the European Members will play an overwhelming part in electing not only the European Members but also the Asian and other non-European Members. Thus European influence or domination over the Council will be increased when steps should have been taken to increase the influence of the other races and to achieve a better balance. . . .

"It is regretted that that great obstacle to proper political progress contained in the Lyttelton Constitution, the presence in the Council of Ministers of Elected Ministers responsible to mono-racial constituencies, is preserved in the present proposals. . . . It is noted with the greatest concern that the proposals have been rejected by the African Elected Members. It is considered that political stability, racial understanding and the general welfare of the Colony will be greatly promoted if a Constitution were framed in a manner acceptable to all races. This could be achieved if a Constitution were framed in the light of deliberations between representatives of all races under the chairmanship of an impartial person from outside the Colony."

The Kenya Minister of Works, Mr. Ibrahim Nathoo, blamed extremist elements among the European-elected members of the Legislative Council for African opposition to the Lennox-Boyd constitution. He said: "I found it incredible that these Europeans, with all the experience and political acumen at the command of the British, should state from public platforms that the solution imposed was similar to that which they sought. It was hypocrisy. Only a few days before, these same Europeans had said in their own personal circles that they would not look at any substantial departure from the Lyttelton plan." (*The Times*, January 6, 1958.)

Group Captain Briggs, European Minister without Portfolio, addressing his constituents said: "I think the new constitution is a most genuine attempt to design a pattern for the future, one that provides security and opportunity for all races. The Council of State will safeguard the interests of the African just as much as those of the other communities.

"The selected seats introduce a new concept of non-racial representation which, although novel in its application to our Legislative Council, has nevertheless been used for years as a means for the election of aldermen in, for instance, such important municipal bodies as the London County Council. . . .

"Everything has been done to meet the African demands with reason, generosity, and justice, but the Africans are unfortunately clearly not actuated by reason but by emotion; and it may be partly as a result of bad advice from people in Kenya and also overseas. It is a tragedy that they should be so profoundly unconscious of the problems—and particularly the economic problems—with which we are faced. Airy fairy political theories absorb their minds, and they either cannot understand or do not want to understand the disastrous economic results which would follow the attainment of their present aims. Time and again in Legislative Council they demand action from Government to provide more education or more services of one kind or another all requiring finance, but they never consider where the money is to come from and by their political antics they are doing their best to stop the flow of finance into Kenya." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 12, 1957.)

Mr. Michael Blundell, the Minister for Agriculture, said that with the new constitution imposed on the colony, a new era had been entered in Kenya's political life. He said it would be an era in which "the uneasy and untutored forces of African racialism" would become apparent for the first time and in which it would be the task of the Europeans not to repress

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

the Africans but to guide them. Mr. Blundell said he was very much against creating "the inflexibilities of constitutional strait-jackets" and he believed that, as leaders of Kenya, the European community would be wise to consider the implications of a qualified franchise, under which all civilized men would be given the same opportunities.

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in a broadcast from Nairobi on December 31, 1957 said: "Now I feel that the future prosperity of Kenya and the happiness of all its inhabitants are again in jeopardy. We stand at the most critical crossroads that we have encountered in our march along the road of progress since the turn of the century. I am seriously concerned lest that section of the people of all races who really matter, the majority who are liberal-minded, may be too confident that good sense will prevail or too wrapped up in their own personal affairs to take the necessary steps to prevent the extremists of both sides from leading the country down one or other of the roads that can lead only to disaster for us all, no matter what our race or tribe, our skin colour or religious belief."

Discussing the new constitution, Dr. Leakey said: "Obviously if the African insists upon non-co-operation it will be that much harder to implement this plan smoothly, but the Africans should realize that they will be putting more power, not less, into the hands of the Europeans. They will also make some at least of the very liberal-minded Europeans who are on their side begin to wonder whether they have any leaders in whom any reliance can be placed." He called on liberal Europeans to make it clear that they dissociated themselves from the extremist section of their community. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, January 2, 1958.)

Sir Philip Mitchell (Governor of Kenya from 1944 to 1952) described Kenya's constitutional position as equivalent to Britain's in about the middle of the eighteenth century. He said: "I believe it to be true that the majority of people of understanding in this country would now agree that a communal basis is not at all satisfactory for the Legislature, but would also be quick to recognize that it is not enough merely to accept that, for if a communal basis is rejected, an alternative has to be found. That is the long-range problem that confronts the Governor today. . . . My personal impression is that the various races are inclined to agree with each other more today than at any time that I can remember. It is true that there is a group of nationally-minded African politicians who, reasonably enough from their point of view, express a desire to see a straightforward majority Government, which would, of course, according to their calculations, mean government by themselves, but it is a group which assumes that it has tribal sentiment under complete control and I can see little grounds for supposing that any group has that, especially if it excludes the million or so Kikuyu. For the rest, it is probably true that if we all frankly said what we believe in our hearts, we should agree that the indefinite continuation of the personal executive authority of the Governor is the device we should most gladly welcome and it would surprise me greatly if there were any genuine political pressure to replace that device for a very long time by any other. Combined with the executive authority of the Governor, and lending it strength and influence, the Legislature could be compounded of all the various interests, including racial interests, but the issue that we have to confront is the question of whether we really want a form of Government which could radically alter the laws of the land if it were elected with a majority, or even secede from the Commonwealth, as it is certain some ambitious people in Uganda aspire to do."

Sir Philip defined the problem for Kenya today as that of devising a Legislature which will advise, and in some measure control, the Executive by the nature of the legislation it will be willing to enact, and so nicely balance the interests of all the various groups as to produce legislation which will in effect result in policies broadly acceptable to all races and classes, careful of their respective interests. He continued: "If it were practicable to impose a genuine education test—at say sixth form (in the English School sense) level at this stage in Kenya there would be a large European majority, and the millions of Africans would possibly be last on the list. That would be a purely temporary situation, for nothing could, or can, prevent the vast African majority from being the politically decisive majority when once majority is the deciding factor and Africans in sufficient numbers have achieved an adequate educational and economic standard. Since no one is concerned to prevent that happening and since

all responsible people accept that it must in time be the outcome, the African people need only two things to fulfil their hopes—patience, and industry in their education. To work hard in school and college is not a difficult thing, although by no means as common as it might be, but patience—Ah! there is the rub. Nevertheless patience is an imperative must for Africans at this stage." (*Kenya Weekly News*, November 29, 1957.)

## New African Constituencies

Provision for the nomination and election of six additional African elected members of the Legislative Council, raising their number from eight to fourteen, has been made by the Kenya (Electoral Provisions) Order in Council, 1957. The present African elected members will retain their seats in eight of the constituencies and elections will be held in the remaining six during the last week of March. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, January 9, 1958.)

## Multi-Racial Party

A new multi-racial political party has been formed in Nairobi at a convention attended by about one hundred people, who stand for a common national purpose transcending racial loyalties and a parliamentary democracy based on a common but qualitative electoral roll. The origins are similar to those of the Constitution Party recently formed in Central Africa. Though separate from the Capricorn Africa Society, the two new parties have been established by strong supporters of the Capricorn movement. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 28, 1957.)

## African Urban Wages<sup>1</sup>

The Government has decided that no further advance can be made immediately towards the "adult" minimum wage target (as recommended in Sessional Paper No. 21 of 1954) though an increase of 2s. 6d. will be made in the "adult" housing allowance with effect from January 1, 1958.

In Nairobi minimum monthly wages are 85s. plus 22s. 50 cents housing allowance for male employees. The Committee on African Wages which produced the 1954 Sessional Paper considered 81s. a month to be an adequate "bachelor" wage at that time. It described the insufficiency of the wages for any African man with a dependent family and recommended that a statutory minimum wage based on the needs of a family unit and assessed as two and a half times the basic bachelor wage should be gradually introduced during the period 1956-66.

## Community Development Projects

A self-help Community Development project in the Othayo division of the Nyeri district—once a stronghold of Mau Mau terrorists—may become an official pilot scheme for the whole of the Central Province. To launch the scheme, 20,000 adult Kikuyu were asked to subscribe 1s. each. Nearly everyone responded and the £900 raised will meet all building costs and provide much of the necessary equipment.

Training centres—two in each of the division's three locations—are being built by voluntary labour and will have workshops, lecture rooms, libraries and domestic science classrooms for women.

Adult classes will also be established, and in two years it is hoped to have eradicated illiteracy in the division and to have provided several hundred African boys and girls with a basic training in character, development and discipline. (*East Africa Standard*, December 6, 1957.)

The first African coffee factory in the Kiambu Reserve, built at Gititu, twenty miles north of Nairobi, at a total cost of nearly £3,000, has been opened by the Minister for Community Development, Mr. C. M. Johnston, who said it was thanks to the principle of self-help engendered by the African co-operative societies that such factories became a reality.

A new £2,000 jaggery factory has been built by 120 members of the Shiamberere Farmers' Co-operative Society in North Nyanza. The factory is intended to replace the mobile unit which has been travelling round the locations in North Nyanza crushing cane from small experimental plots which were established several years ago. The factory, which started work in September, crushes cane from members' holdings. It is estimated that more than 250 acres have been planted with cane within a ten-mile radius of the site. (*Kenya Newsletter*, December 12, 1957.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST II, 2.



## Reduced Numbers in Detention

Mr. John Profumo, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in reply to a Parliamentary question that on October 31, 1957, there were still 16,385 persons in detention. Since the establishment of the Advisory Committee 2,525 persons had appealed and 1,058 of them had been released as a result of the recommendations of the Committee.

## Border Troubles

Tribal clashes have occurred in the Northern Frontier Province and across the border in the Sudan. Turkana tribesmen are allowed to use the Liwan area of the Sudan for grazing, and are protected by police. Merille tribesmen normally live in Ethiopia, but occupy one village in Kenya near the tip of Lake Rudolf. The Dongiro tribe who were also involved in the incidents normally live in Ethiopia. Two companies of the King's African Rifles were sent to the area, but fighting continued. Both the Kenya and Ethiopian Governments made strong protests and claimed compensation.

A correspondent writing in *The Times* (December 19, 1957) said: "Only the co-operation of the Ethiopian authorities can put down this tribal conflict among the primitive people of the Ilemi triangle—the area of the Sudan bounded by Kenya and Ethiopia and administered by the Kenya police. A few tiny police posts are scattered about the 30,000 square miles of desert and volcanic hills, hampered by the difficult terrain and almost complete lack of communications. The army units are restricted to the Kenya side of the border.

"On the other hand the Merille, fleet-footed desert warriors, attack their traditional enemies in the Turkana camps with swift surprise, and retreat quickly beyond the Ethiopian border, often before the nearest police post has been warned."

## New Secret Society

The Kenya Government has proscribed a secret Kikuyu society known as *Kiama Kia Muingi* (Party of the People), which is stated to have aims similar to those of Mau Mau. The maximum penalty for membership is seven years' imprisonment; the leaders are liable to fourteen years.

A Government spokesman said that eighty-five leaders and members have been arrested under the emergency regulations, and twenty-five local committees uncovered in the Kiambu area on the outskirts of Nairobi. The society has its origins in the passive wing of Mau Mau. It first came to notice when its members were feeding and assisting terrorists in the Embu district. It died out with the detention of the terrorist leaders, but subsequently reappeared in Kiambu, where it began to exercise its influence through the ritual oath and the forming of local committees on the familiar Mau Mau pattern.

The aims of the society were similar to those of the former proscribed Kikuyu Central Association and Mau Mau. It sought to undermine and subvert established authority, to drive Europeans from their land and to stir up racial hatred. While there was no indication that the society intended to resort to violence the Government was mindful that this had been equally true of Mau Mau almost up to the time it was proscribed. (*The Times*, January 16, 1958.)

# Tanganyika

## New Governor

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, Chief Secretary of Kenya, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Tanganyika, in succession to Sir Edward Twining, whose term of office expires in June. He becomes a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Sir Richard, who is 48 years old, has had twenty-two years in Kenya administration. He was Minister for Defence at the height of the Mau Mau emergency and planned Operation Anvil, a drive against terrorists in Nairobi which proved the turning-point of the campaign. (*The Times*, January 9, 1958.)

## U.N. Mission's Report

The report of the U.N. Visiting Mission (1957) is not unanimous. The chairman, Mr. Dorfinville (Haiti), and the Burmese and French representatives consider that certain changes should be made in the system for the elections in 1958, so as to "better dispose" the African electorate towards them. The other member of the mission, Mr. Hamilton (Australia) regards the suggested changes as "unrealistic".

The mission is unanimous in recognizing that political advancement at Central Government level in Tanganyika is tending to proceed at an increasing rate, and it congratulates the administering authority, the United Kingdom, upon the introduction of the electoral system for the Legislative Council.

The report notes that the administering authority has affirmed as its objective the development of a democratic multi-racial society and has emphasized that its policy is directed toward bringing up the indigenous inhabitants to take their place side by side with the immigrant communities. Regarding the electoral reforms impending, the mission says, however, that the Africans whom it heard were almost unanimously opposed to parity representation—as between the three races—to the obligation to vote for representatives of each race and to the qualifications required, "which considerably reduce the African electorate".

The "liberalizing" measures suggested by the majority of the mission are: to make the vote optional for one candidate of each of the three races, and to broaden the required qualifications for voters. The administering authority, on the other hand, feel that any such changes would involve postponing elections until after 1958. (*The Times*, January 9, 1958.)

## Additions to Legislative Council

The names of six more new members of the Legislative Council have been announced. The Representative Members are:

*Captain Jack Bennett*—arrived in Tanganyika in 1933, and worked with the Church Missionary Society at Bugufi and later at Katoke, Bukoba District, where he has been principal of the Teachers' Training College since 1947.

*Mr. Clement George Kahama*—born about 1928. Studied at Loughborough Co-operative College 1952-54 and obtained Diploma of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries. Returned to Bukoba as secretary-treasurer of the B.N.C.U.; became first manager of the union in 1956.

*Mr. Prahlad Grewal Singh*—arrived in East Africa in 1928 and was engaged in saw-milling in Uganda. In 1937 went to Tanganyika and established Kagera Saw Mills and Grewals' Timbers.

The Nominated Members are:

*Chief Sylvester Lushoni Natore III of Ihangiro*. Born about 1909. Educated at Bukoba and the Medical Training Centre, Dar es Salaam. In 1934 he became a sub-chief in Ihangiro; in 1952 elected Chief of Ihangiro, a chiefdom with a population of nearly 100,000. In 1953 attended a British Council study course on local government and agriculture in England.

*Mr. Emmanuel Salimu Lekamoyo*—Senior Co-operative Inspector, K.N.C.U. Educated St. Patrick's Training College, Moshi. Teacher, Roman Catholic Mission 1938-48. Scholarship to Loughborough to study co-operative work. Member Moshi District Advisory Council, Territorial Cotton Board, and Advisory Committee of College of Commerce, Moshi.

*Mr. C. J. W. Hodgson, O.B.E.*—born 1901. Arrived East Africa 1928, bank manager at Arusha from 1946 to retirement last year. Sometime President, Arusha Chamber of Commerce; chairman of trustees of St. George's School, Iringa. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 5, 1957.)

## Chief Marealle's Resignation

In order to devote more time to Chagga affairs, Chief Thomas Marealle has resigned as Nominated Unofficial Member of Legislative Council. As he is already a Nominated Unofficial Member of the Executive Council, and has just accepted appointment as a Nominated Unofficial Member of the East African Central Legislative Assembly, Chief Marealle has decided to limit his outside activities. The Governor, Sir Edward Twining, has nominated Chief Charles Masanja of Nera in his place. Chief Masanja is 27 and was educated at Makerere College, where he obtained a diploma in engineering. He is the elected chief of the Nera.



## T.A.N.U. Leader Resigns

Mr. Julius Nyerere, president of the Tanganyika African National Union, has resigned his nominated membership of the Legislative Council. In a statement he said: "I joined the Council expecting a spirit of give and take. The spirit was not there."

The statement accused the Government of adopting the policy of opposition for opposition's sake, carrying it to logical but absurd conclusions. He had compromised again and again to the point of surrender, but every proposal he had made was rejected for unconvincing reasons.

Although he was opposed to the whole idea of a compulsory tripartite vote he had compromised by suggesting the member system. This was rejected, as were his suggestions for a constitutional committee to make recommendations and changes in the constitution and franchise, and for an election throughout Tanganyika next year. The latter suggestion, he declared, was not a compromise but a complete surrender, as he was prepared to have an election on the White voting system. Still the Government refused to agree and he now felt there was no alternative but to resign.

A Government spokesman said: "The Government regrets Mr. Nyerere's tendered resignation as the representative member of the Legislative Council particularly in view of the fact that he has only attended two Council meetings in this capacity." (*Pretoria News*, December 20, 1957.)

The *Central African Examiner* (January 4, 1958) said that the real cause of dissatisfaction with the arrangements for the forthcoming elections was the present position of parity between the three races amongst the unofficial members of the Legislative Council. The Governor, although he disliked it "with the rest of them", looks on it as a necessary transitional stage.

The editorial continued: "Obviously, Mr. Nyerere is under pressure to speed the processes faster, and do away with the parity system in less than the five or six years which the Government gives it. He has seen the success with which Mr. Tom Mboya has stood apart from the Kenya Council of Ministers and brought down the Lyttelton Plan, and has now set a similar course for himself. Whether Mr. Nyerere is being shrewd is another matter. There is now an impressive number of Africans holding portfolios as assistant ministers; the Convention of Chiefs may emerge as a check on TANU, even if Mr. Nyerere has been careful to maintain good relations with them so far."

## Election Apathy

Several Members of Legislative Council have claimed that the compulsory tripartite voting system for the coming elections in the Territory was the reason why so few people were registering as electors. Mr. Julius Nyerere, who moved that the system should be changed and that the elections should be country-wide, said the tripartite vote interfered with the freedom of the elector.

People could not understand why they had to vote for a European, an Asian and an African in one constituency. They were irritated at the knowledge that they would have to vote for someone they knew nothing about. Mr. Nyerere suggested that by removing the compulsion to vote for three candidates the onus of getting the votes would be thrown more on the candidates. They would have to make themselves and their policies known to all the people.

Mr. Le Maitre said he thought something should be done to ensure that the three races were truly represented in Legislative Council. Compulsory tripartite voting, he maintained, would have the opposite effect.

The Minister for Constitutional Affairs, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke, said the elections were the first to be held in Tanganyika and the success of the provisions could not be proved if they were changed before the elections took place. (*East African Standard*, December 13, 1957.)

## Vacancies in African Schools

The Provincial Commissioner for the Lake Province, Mr. S. A. Walden, revealed that there were no less than 20,000 vacant places in the Lake Province primary schools. In the Central Province two more primary schools have been closed down for lack of support. There was room for

46,000 children in the primary schools but only 37,881 were enrolled. From the beginning of the year the number of children attending Standard I classes dropped from 13,050 to 10,439 by the end of June. Similar conditions prevail in Standards II, III and IV. There were 3,120 places provided in the Middle Schools this year and 581 children failed to take up their places. About 30 per cent of the children enrolled in Standard V failed to sit for the territorial Standard VIII examination. (*"The Month in Tanganyika"*, December 3, 1957.)

In reply to a Parliamentary question on November 14, 1957, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies said there was no indication that school fees were beyond the means of parents. He thought the vacancies were due to wise planning, schools having been built large enough to allow for increase in the years to come, but some responsibility must rest on those parents who were still reluctant to send their children to school.

## Uganda

### Resignations and Replacements in the Legislative Council

DR. E. M. K. MUWAZI (Buganda) and Mr. David Luboga (Busoga) wrote to the Governor of Uganda tendering their resignations from the Council on November 23, 1957. Giving the reasons for their action they said they were dissatisfied with the Government's reply to a petition objecting to the policy of no major constitutional changes until 1961; to there being only eighteen African representatives in the next Legislative Council and to direct elections in 1958 being dependent on acceptance of the common roll. The petition had ended by asking for the Legislative Council to be directly and wholly elected, and for the issue of the common roll to be deferred until the next Legislative Council which would be representative of the people.

In spite of a strongly worded letter from the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, warning them that they were failing to "carry out their proper functions", the Buganda Electoral College refused to elect a new member to the Legislative Council to replace Dr. Muwazi. The Busoga District Council have also refused to replace Mr. D. Luboga. *African Pilot* (December 5, 1957) reported that Mr. Y. Bamutta, a Buganda representative in the Legislative Council, had resigned with effect from December 31. The Governor subsequently announced that the seat vacated by the Buganda representative would remain vacant, but that the Busoga representative would be replaced by a nominated member.

At a public meeting of the Uganda National Congress, Mr. I. K. Musazi, its president and a member of the Legislative Council, said that he did not blame the two members for resigning their seats but for the way in which they did it, because they held no discussions with anybody before coming to that decision. He said that if reasons which make it necessary for Buganda representatives to resign from the Legislative Council are clearly explained to the public and it decides to withdraw its representatives they would then tender their resignations to the Governor. Mr. Musazi said that if Buganda refused to send representatives to the Council she would not be acting in accordance with the 1955 Agreement.

On January 5, 1958, the Government announced that it is to nominate three additional African back bench-members (who will be Government supporters) to the Legislative Council. Two of these members will take over the two votes held by the President of the Council, Sir Frederick Crawford, the Governor, who is handing over the presidency to the newly-appointed non-voting Speaker, Sir John Griffin, the former Chief Justice of the Protectorate. The third member will replace the Resident of Buganda, Mr. C. A. L. Richards.

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 19, 1957) commented: "From the Ganda point of view, there are three possible attitudes to the Council; hostile because it impinges on the autonomy of Buganda; hostile because it is insufficiently African in composition; and guardedly friendly, because it is after all the nearest approach that there is yet to a democratically elected body and is moving steadily in the right way. The third view is held by Mr. I. K. Musazi, the veteran president of the Uganda National Congress, who now appears to be in the minority within his own party;

the second by the greater part of the Congress members; the first by the traditionalists who uphold the cause of Buganda separatism. But the news, received yesterday, that the Busoga Council has decided not to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Luboga's resignation, and has advocated a boycott of the Legislative Council, suggests that the more radical wing of Congress is the prime mover in this development rather than Ganda traditionalism, which certainly has no place in Busoga. . . .

"It has been suggested that as the Buganda Agreement of 1955 (on the strength of which the Kabaka returned) lays down that at least one-quarter of the African representative members in the Legislature must come from Buganda, the Council would be constitutionally paralysed if it refuses to send any representatives. This seems hardly plausible as a matter of law. But in practice it would not be easy for the Government to enforce the decisions of a Legislature which a substantial part of the country was boycotting. In this respect, the Busoga attitude matters even more than the Buganda one; for Busoga, having no separatist inclinations, can more easily be followed by other parts of the country."

The *African Pilot* (January 9, 1958) reported that the Governor in an interview with the television unit of the B.B.C. had said that it would be very difficult to make a plan to guide Uganda until it became self-governing without affecting the positions of some of the traditional rulers. The plan should, however, give the rulers some power and maintain their dignity.

### Enlargement of Legislative Council Demanded

Mr. I. K. Musazi introduced a motion in the Legislative Council proposing that the Legislative Council be reconstituted and the Government requested to make constitutional provision for a house with three-quarters of its members elected.

Mr. Musazi said the Legislative Council should be increased from sixty to eighty-four members, of whom sixty-three should be elected. This would leave twenty-one seats for some senior British *ex-officio* members and nominated members chosen by an electoral college formed by the directly elected Africans. The Governor would still retain his special powers of veto and certification, while the "fears, doubts, and resentment" by Africans of the present Council would be removed.

Mr. C. J. Obwangor (Teso) said the motion was one of vital importance. There were now 5½ million Africans represented by eighteen members.

Mr. B. Saben called attention to the "urgent need" for a committee to discuss constitutional proposals and said that while she had much sympathy for the motion, she could not support it.

The Chief Secretary, Mr. C. H. Hartwell, said the Government was unable to support the motion firstly because it contravened the already-stated policy that there would be no major constitutional changes before 1961; secondly, because the motion was "obscure and uncertain" and thirdly the proposals would not be workable in practice. He said that there was no mention of which side of the Chamber elected members should sit, and it would be impossible to operate a system under which the Government were in a minority and had to rely on the Governor's overruling power to make legislation. The motion was defeated by thirty-two votes to nine with eleven abstentions. (*Uganda Argus*, November 22, 1957.)

### Direct Elections Controversy

The Ankole Eishengyero (Parliament) has voted against having direct elections for the District's representatives in Legislative Council next year. Voting was thirty-eight to twenty-nine. After the vote had been taken, a protest was raised by some members against the decision. Fifteen members walked out of the Eishengyero. (*Uganda Argus*, November 2, 1957.)

This decision was criticized by the Progressive Party, whose President, Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, sent a telegram to the Eishengyero, and by Mr. J. C. Kiwanuka, Secretary of the Democratic Party, who said that the Ankole decision would only serve to delay self-government and appealed to the Protectorate Government to conduct a referendum on the issue in Ankole.

Kigezi District Council accepted, by thirty votes to twenty-two, proposals for direct elections, and the Busoga Council, despite their refusal to elect a representative to replace Mr. D. Luboga, agreed by a vote of sixty-eight to nineteen to participate in the direct elections.

The Buganda Government issued a statement explaining that the Hancock Constitutional Committee recommended that the Buganda

Representative Members on the Legislative Council should be elected by the Lukiko, which meant that they were not to be directly elected before 1961.

When the Kintu Committee reviewed the Hancock recommendations it suggested that the Buganda members on the Legislative Council should be directly elected by the people now and the Lukiko accepted this. This was the first time any Council in the Protectorate accepted direct elections and it was the present Lukiko which first accepted direct elections in Uganda, starting with Buganda Members to be elected in 1958.

The Lukiko has rejected direct elections for itself when such a motion was brought for discussion last year, because it is thought better to see first how the system worked with the election of the Legislative Council Members.

They are opposed in this by the Uganda National Congress which has proposed that sixty representatives in the Lukiko should be chosen by a system of direct election. The United Congress Party favours retaining the twenty *saza*-chiefs as *ex-officio* members and six members as Kabaka's nominees. (*African Pilot*, November 25, 1957.)

Muweraza (December 3, 1957) reported that members of the African Press and a group of Makerere students demonstrated in protest against the Lukiko's rejection of direct elections. A letter of protest complaining of a demonstration staged by Makerere students was sent by the Speaker to the Principal, Mr. Bernard de Bunsen. He replied regretting any incidents which spoiled presentation of the students' petition in favour of direct elections to the Lukiko and stated that students have the right to contribute to issues of public concern. (*Uganda Empya*, December 9 and 12, 1957.)

### An Expanding Economy

Out of a total income of £117,100,000 in 1956, £41,600,000 derived from African enterprises. Another £15,500,000 related to profits and surpluses of private business, statutory marketing boards and public enterprises, £29,100,000 was on account of salaries and wages and £30,300,000 was attributed to African subsistence income.

Tables published in a Statistical Department report, covering the six-year period 1950-56 disclose that the African money income more than doubled. The cost-of-living index for all groups rose by 32 per cent between 1951 and 1956.

In 1950, Europeans earned £1,905,000, Asians £2,470,000 and Africans £5,390,000. Last year, the respective figures had risen to £4,785,000, £5,306,000, and £14,943,000. Non-African wages rose by 131 per cent and African wages by 177 per cent during the period. (*East African Standard*, October 25, 1957.)

Sir Amar Maini, Minister of Corporations and Regional Communications, told the Legislative Council that the full generating capacity of the Owen Falls dam is likely to be taken up by 1965. He said there were sufficient sites for hydro-electric stations on the Nile to satisfy the demand for electricity for centuries to come. The most economic of these appeared to be at Bujagali, 4½ miles downstream from the Owen Falls dam, and it was here that the Uganda Electricity Board was proposing to build a second dam. (*Uganda Argus*, November 15, 1957.)

### Alleged Plot Against Kabaka

Joseph Kiwanuka, chairman of the Uganda National Congress and owner of a Uganda newspaper, has been arrested and charged with conspiring to bribe three men to assassinate the Kabaka, his Prime Minister, Mr. Michael Kintu, the Kabaka's uncle, Prince Badru, the Buganda Health Minister, Mr. Amos Sempa, and Mr. Aloysius Lubowa, a Buganda newspaper editor and Member of Parliament. (*The Times*, January 15, 1958.)

## Zanzibar and Pemba

### Development Schemes

MR. JOHN PROFUMO, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, has made a statement in the House of Commons on the development of Pemba.

The main emphasis, he said, would be on the improvement of communications internally and with Zanzibar. The main north-south road on the island was being improved at an estimated cost of £156,000, and it was planned to spend £120,000 on Weshia port and £30,000 on Mkoani port.

During the past two years two new vessels, together costing about £500,000, had been built for the Zanzibar Government; they were used for the service between Pemba and Zanzibar. In due course it was hoped to provide a satisfactory airport on Pemba.

Great importance was attached to electricity supply, and the Zanzibar Electricity Board had approved a £250,000 scheme, and orders for generators and main equipment were already placed. Work on the general improvement and extension of Wete Hospital costing £38,500 would start next year.

£25,000 had been spent on urban and rural school and staff accommodation; three water supply schemes would cost £90,000; housing areas were being developed; and work on new town planning schemes costing £15,000 would start in 1958. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, December 19, 1957.)

Population figures for Zanzibar and Pemba are approximately 160,000 and 120,000 respectively. There are twelve representative members of the Zanzibar Legislative Council, of whom two are elected and two nominated to represent Pemba.

## Somalia

### Independence: 1960

MISS MARGERY PERHAM in a letter to *The Times* (December 16, 1957) listed the reasons why trouble might be expected to brew in "the Horn of Africa", possibly when the promised independence was granted in 1960. The reasons were: "(1) The political and financial unreadiness of Somalia for its new status. (2) The effects of its promotion upon the neighbouring and equally immature British Somaliland. (3) The historic imperialism of Ethiopia, which, *pace* Bandung, was the fourth colonial power to partition Somaliland and which now, armed by the United States, has lately resumed possession of the essential Haud grazing area. (4) The possible repercussions of any trouble in this region upon Aden. (5) The probable intervention of Egypt already bitterly vocal on the air, in a region which she once partially and briefly occupied. (6) The still unspecified but certainly generous contribution which we can expect Russia to make to this promising brew."

Miss Perham said: "A united Somalia under international control would be the ideal settlement. It would be based on the surrender of their portions by all four colonial powers; would help to solve the problems of finance, of grazing, and nomadism, and allow of the gradual development of the Somalis towards a viable and neutralized state. But Russia, as in 1946 with the plan put forward by Mr. Bevin, is almost certain again to use her veto. The second best is for Britain, Italy and France to win American support for a plan of co-ordinated development, aimed at eventual unity and self-government, for the three maritime portions and to try to win Ethiopia to bring her indispensable interior slice into the project. This would be not only generous on her part but wise. The Somalis as a whole will always be bad neighbours to a Christian nation which, as all who have trekked in this region know, lives on her green ramparts high above one of the most dramatic natural frontiers in the world and yet claims to incorporate the bleached plains at her feet where the pastoral Muslim Somalis from British and Italian territory must seek their grazing for several months of the year. . . .

"1960 is not far away, and it is more than time for informed opinion in this country to urge the Government to enter into diplomatic preparations for that year. The worst of all procedures would be for Britain, which has twice been forced to evacuate her own Somaliland, to betray the still surviving trust of this people by a policy of fumbling expediency or by making isolated and irredeemable promises."

In reply, Mr. K. Abbebe, First Secretary of the Ethiopian Embassy in London, described Miss Perham's third point as "a complete distortion of the truth". He said: "The fact is that imperialists went from elsewhere and appropriated parts of Ethiopia, but Ethiopia has never crossed her boundaries for aggressive purposes and does not intend to do so in future. . . .

"It is most unfortunate that the colonial powers who have occupied the coastal regions of the Horn of Africa and profited by its strategic position have for nearly three-quarters of a century neglected the welfare of the native populations and the economic development of the region and that now, when these populations clamour for freedom from foreign rule, the proponents of a 'Greater Somalia' try to make Ethiopia a scapegoat for all the ills that naturally follow the past policies of their Governments. One wonders why Miss Perham seems to be so confident that Christian and Muslim can never live together as good neighbours in that part of Africa. One would hope that people who ostensibly seem to be so interested in peace and security in that area would not keep harping on religious and other differences and thus help to create artificial barriers among peoples whose lasting interest is to forget such differences and work towards the good of all.

"Ethiopia has supported and will continue to support the complete independence of Somalia and will assist in every way possible the economic and cultural development of its people. The proponents of a 'Greater Somalia' must never overlook, however, the historical fact that Ethiopia has always resisted and will continue to resist any attempt from whatever quarter to dismember its national territory under religious, economic or other guise." (*The Times*, December 18, 1957.)

Sir Gerald Reece, former Governor of British Somaliland, wrote: "It is clear that by 1960 neither Somalia nor the rest of the Somalilands will be ready for self-government, but the United Nations have set the pace with their promise to Somalia, made in 1950, of an absolute right to independence after ten years' trusteeship by Italy. In 1960 the people of the British Somaliland Protectorate will certainly require, if not self-government, at least some definite assurance that appreciable steps towards it will materialize during the following two years.

"Some form of Greater Somalia must eventually come into being, but would international control be practicable? The Emperor of Ethiopia's views were clearly defined in his policy speech made at Gabredarre in August 1956, when he stated that he hoped that 'Greater Somalia' would materialize because 'our country would thereby become yet stronger and larger'. Probably the best that can be hoped for in the near future is a loose federation of Somalia with the British Somaliland Protectorate, governed by the people themselves, with plenty of foreign technical advisers and adequate financial subsidies.

"Last year the general feeling among the articulate people of Somalia, as well as those of the Protectorate, was that they would prefer to be in the British Commonwealth; but this now seems to be changing, partly perhaps owing to Egyptian influence, and also because it does not look to them as though Her Majesty's Government will be able or willing to protect the Somali people from Ethiopian interference." (*The Times*, December 21, 1957.)

In an editorial referring to this correspondence, *The Times* (December 23, 1957) described the U.N. decree that Somalia should become independent in 1960 as "not only basically unfair to the inhabitants of Somalia itself, but dangerous to its neighbours, for Somalis are to be found in Ethiopia, Djibouti, British Somaliland, and Kenya", and added: "The British are in a dilemma. They are doing their best to protect the interests of their own Somali tribesmen who graze their herds under treaty on the Ethiopian side of the border. They are trying to push the Protectorate Somalia forward politically, and some think too slowly. But whatever they do they cannot have them ready for independence by 1960, when the demand is sure to arise. . . . Obviously no one of the countries concerned can solve this problem alone. The United Nations, in view of its past record, is hardly likely to be much help now. There are certain factors in the situation which are clear. One is that when Somalia becomes independent it will need technical and administrative help. The others are that the rest of the Somalis will want to follow Somalia to independence and that, sooner or later, they will try to unite. The least that the Powers now controlling portions of the Somalis should do is to meet and discuss possible courses of action."

A subsequent letter from Mr. M. J. Mariano, vice-president of the National United Front, said: "Any proposal which envisages the postponement of Independence Day for Somalia beyond 1960 is unacceptable and would be looked upon by all Somalis as a breach of faith on the part of the



Western powers. Any scheme for the co-ordinated development of a united and self-governing Somaliland must incorporate an independent Somalia. Any other plan would meet with unshakeable suspicion and hostility, and would confirm the fears raised by the allegations that the colonial Western powers are out to sabotage our chances of attaining sovereign status.

"We are anxious to correct the expressed opinion that the Somalis as a whole will always be bad neighbours to a Christian nation. There is no issue of Muslims against Christians. It is perhaps not known to the outside world that at the end of World War II most Somalis were overjoyed at the reinstatement of the Emperor Haile Selassie and looked upon liberated Ethiopia as 'The Land of Hope', believing that our neighbour would actively foster the Somali desire for self-determination and independence. The existing ill-feeling was caused by barbarous persecutions of Somalis by the Ethiopian Government and the realization that Ethiopia intended to go to extremes in subjugating and assimilating the Somali peoples who were wrongfully placed under Ethiopian authority by the colonial powers.

"If Ethiopia would restore its 'ill-gotten' land and would practise a more liberal and enlightened form of government we could be the best of neighbours. In Somaliland there is no discrimination by Muslim Somalis against Christian Somalis. Man to man the Christian Ethiopian and the Muslim Somali get on well together." (*The Times*, January 15, 1958.)

## Somaliland

### Debates in Council

At the November meeting of the Protectorate Legislative Council there were debates on collective punishment, educational advance and constitutional reform. The Hon. Ahmed Haji Abdullahi, an unofficial member, proposed that consideration should be given to the abolition of the custom known as *Her* by which "every Somali is compelled to take part in the payment of blood money" after crimes of violence have been committed. The Commissioner for Somali Affairs, Mr. P. Carrel, said that the Government side of the Council would abstain from voting on the motion. A more drastic amendment proposed by the Hon. M. Mariano (unofficial member) that a law should be enacted enabling anyone who wished "to break away from the injurious custom of paying or receiving blood money in respect of *dia* or wound compensation to do so" was opposed by the Government as premature and defeated. The original proposal was carried.

On education, a motion was carried asking Government to allocate more scholarships to enable suitable candidates to take degrees in classical Arabic in Beirut University so that they could return to teach in intermediate and secondary schools.

It was agreed to appoint a commission to examine methods by which unofficial membership of the Legislative Council could be made more representative. The Commission, which would consist of a chairman and an equal number of Somalis and Government representatives, would consider problems of representation and election. During the debate, Mr. Mariano asked for elections in 1959 and for the number of unofficial members to be increased to twelve. He drew attention to the rapid constitutional advance of Somalia in recent years. The Chief Secretary said that there was no change in the attitude of H.M. Government, which was that the Somali people should advance toward self-determination. (*War Somali Sidihi*, November 30, 1957.)

## SUDAN

### Independence Anniversary

ON the occasion of the second anniversary of independence, His Excellency, Sayed Abdalla Bey Khalil, the Prime Minister, said: "One of the foremost duties of a government is to lay down the foundations of government on a sound and durable basis, both internally and externally. . . .

"We have paid great attention to health and education services as we aim to provide medicines and education for all. We have opened many schools and some hospitals. . . .

"In relation to our policy to increase trade we have concluded some

payments agreements with other countries. The Government supervises foreign trade without discriminating between different countries, thus ensuring favourable conditions for the import and export of commodities, within the limits of the law. This helps to improve our trade balance and increase our reserves of foreign exchange, which are urgently needed by the country for construction and development.

"We place great value on the system of democratic Government which we have chosen for our country. . . . I take this opportunity to ask all citizens to ensure that elections are carried out in a tolerant and magnanimous spirit, as elections are the practical proof of a country's belief in democracy as a suitable means of good government.

"We have gained, by our foreign policy, the confidence and admiration of other governments. In the United Nations we play a part compatible with our policy of positive neutrality. We are on good terms with all governments, and we aim, in particular, to strengthen our ties with Egypt and the Arab states, and with our neighbour, Ethiopia." (*Sudan News Bulletin*, January 1, 1958.)

### Youth Congress Arrests

The Sudanese who attended the World Youth Congress in Moscow have been arrested on the instructions of the Government, and their houses and offices searched for Communist literature. It was officially stated that all would be released on bail pending trial. Under the Unlawful Societies Ordinance, passed during the period of Condominium rule, association with any international Communist organization is illegal. Several hundred Sudanese were invited to the Youth Congress, but the Government forbade attendance. Nevertheless, some 140 Sudanese reached Moscow, including some students from London. The Minister of the Interior, Sayed Ali Abdel Rahman, recently visited Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Government and on his return he stated that he had changed his ideas about Russia—"ideas derived from imperialist propaganda sources". (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, November 28, 1957.)

### Educational Advance

Despite the outbreak of violence in the Southern Provinces which diverted some of the money intended for the Government's five-year plan, the Ministry of Education has been able, since independence, to open almost half the total number of schools opened in the last fifty years. Expenditure on education for 1957/8 exceeded £5½ millions (12.5 per cent of the Budget) as compared with £3½ millions (11.6 per cent) in 1954/5. The increase in the number of schools has been greatest at the intermediate and secondary stages.

In the Southern Provinces where, until 1957, education was carried on mainly by missionaries, 300 village schools and fifty elementary schools were taken over by the Government. All Sudanese schoolmasters working in these schools were given the chance to enrol in the Government service. The intake in the elementary schools was doubled and future expansion in post-elementary education will be in the hands of the Government, which intends to open three new intermediate schools in the near future. (*Sudan News Bulletin*, January 1, 1958.)

Professor Michael Grant, vice-chancellor of the University of Khartoum, said at the recent graduation ceremony that he had made sixty-four appointments, mainly to teaching posts, during the past eighteen months, in which period five new chairs had been established. There had been a steady increase in the number of Sudanese members of the staff and fourteen recent graduates had been sent abroad in 1957 for further studies in the hope that they would acquire sufficiently high qualifications to return to teach in the university. The undergraduate body, now about 800, would soon exceed 1,000. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, January 2, 1958.)

## SOUTH AFRICA

### Multi-Racial Conference

IN accordance with a decision made at the all-African Bloemfontein Conference called by the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation, a Multi-Racial Conference attended by about 500 people assembled

in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand, from December 3-5, 1957, to consider the problem of living in a multi-racial society. The Conference was opened by the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, President of I.D.A.M.F. The following are summaries of reports submitted to the plenary session by study commissions and accepted with minor amendments.

### Human Relations in a Multi-Racial Society

The danger facing South Africa was that of a headlong collision between the forces of white domination and those of counter-domination. The conference believed that such a collision would be disastrous for the country, but it was equally convinced that a turning-point had been reached, where South Africa must choose between the concept of a common society, or a bitter conflict between these two wills to dominate, which could only result in collision. *Apartheid* offered no solution to this threatening impasse. It offered security to nobody. It condemned White South Africa to live out its historical span behind the walls of a fortress, and it condemned non-White South Africa to an unrelenting struggle to breach these walls. For both, ordinary life was becoming more and more impossible, and each was condemned to an unnatural life of increasing vigilance, anxiety and fear.

The Conference believed that the days of White supremacy were past, and that it was completely outlawed by an overwhelming world opinion. South Africa must accept a political and economic structure that would eliminate these bitter conflicts.

The whole Nationalist philosophy was based on racial differences. But Conference regarded such differences as only incidental to a basic common humanity, on which foundation, and on that alone, just and peaceful policies could be based. The Conference affirmed its allegiance to the aspirations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and suggested that December 10, the anniversary of the Declaration, be observed as a new Day of the Covenant offering security and hope to every inhabitant of multi-racial South Africa.

### Economic Rights and Duties

A just economic policy must be based on the right of each member of the community, without discrimination or limitation, to develop to the full, and use in any legitimate way his capacity and abilities. This implied that all colour bars in industry should be abolished. The colour bar denied to those excluded by it their inherent natural right to be able to use their talents fully. Such a denial was unjust and could not be defended on any moral or economic ground.

At present in the Union, economic expansion was gravely hampered by the colour bar and by restrictive legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, and influx control, and generally the interference with the mobility of workers.

Any legal obstacles in the way of the worker's freedom to choose his own calling should be abolished, particularly those which interfered with:

- (a) his right to be trained as an apprentice or otherwise;
- (b) his right to combine with others in trade unions for the protection of his interests; and
- (c) his right to withhold his labour.

The system of using migrant labour was unsocial and uneconomic, and dangerous to the welfare of the country. Every effort should be made to provide for a stable family life for the worker near his place of work.

Provision for social welfare should be available for all without racial discrimination. *Apartheid* imposed a crippling cost on the economy of the country. The aim should be to remove all obstacles in the way of production as soon as possible, and to allow the expansion of the economy of the country to take its natural course.

### Education

Education must seek to provide for the intellectual, emotional, spiritual and physical growth of every human being, without distinction of race. The Conference rejected current educational policies which sought to perpetuate White domination, accentuate ethnic differences and resuscitate tribal nationalism. It rejected the Bantu Education Act, the Separate Universities Bill, the Nursing Amendment Act, the proposals of the Cape Commission for separate Coloured education and the narrow sectionalism of certain parts of the Christian-National Education programme. It

affirmed its faith in the common destiny of the various racial elements which comprised the South African nation and believed that the fundamental social aim of education should be to promote a common patriotism, common citizenship and the welding of the various elements into a single nation-state. It believed that it would be necessary to encourage the multi-racial classroom and to end compulsory segregation in schools. As a start in this direction, private schools should be permitted to admit children of all races, if they so desired.

### Religion

Religion brought human life to a real and practical communion with God the Eternal, and all religious faiths in a greater or lesser degree looked upon human life as a direct creation of God, the Father of all mankind. From this universal standpoint followed immediately the conviction that all men were made in the image of God for a divine purpose, endowed with reason and free will, possessed therefore of an inviolable personal dignity, irrespective of race, colour or culture, and entrusted with duties and rights that had their source in God.

Religion was therefore vitally concerned with the essential equality of all men before God. Inequalities in development, even when they were based on the historical growth of human societies, were not ordained by the Divine Will as permanent features; rather they provided situations that were a challenge to the goodwill of men.

When in a multi-racial society misunderstanding and prejudice tended to obscure fundamental truths, religious communities had a grave obligation to emphasize them and to train the moral judgement of their members in regard to duties of justice and charity. In the Divine command, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's", we had no statement of fully equal allegiance. Our first bond of obedience was to God, and our loyalty to the State was limited in its scope by the prior claims of this duty.

The Conference recommended that religious communities should make use of all available means to achieve the ends of moral education in social and racial matters, namely the pulpit, the religious Press, religious schools, classes and meetings; that reference be made to specific and concrete issues; that the situation of those depressed and frustrated by social injustice be brought home forcibly to the more fortunate; and that practical applications of inter-racial collaboration be fostered in worship, discussions, social exchanges and in charitable and cultural undertakings.

### Civil Rights

Any good society must guarantee civil rights to its citizens. Such rights included freedom to participate in the government of the country, freedom of speech and association, the right to publish opinions, the right to own and occupy property, freedom of worship and conscience, freedom from arbitrary arrest and banishment, freedom of movement, freedom to choose a marriage partner and to found a family, the privacy of the home and of correspondence, the right to equal protection of the law.

To withhold civil rights for reasons of race or colour or creed was a violation of moral principles and civilized standards. To try to limit such rights to one racial group in a multi-racial society must lead ultimately to limiting the rights of all.

### Political Arrangements

(The following is the full text of the report, which was adopted unanimously.)

1. This conference accepts as its fundamental aim the creation in South Africa of a common society.

2. This conference is convinced that only universal adult suffrage on a common roll can meet the needs and aspirations of the people in this country. It appreciates, however, that there is disagreement as to the ways and means of achieving the transition from White supremacy to a non-racial democracy in which these franchise rights may be exercised.

This conference believes that it should start working immediately towards the achievement of the goal of a universal suffrage.

3. This conference is of the opinion that the basic human rights of individuals should be safeguarded by means of a Bill of Rights which should be an integral part of the Constitution.

In his address on "Civil Rights in a Multi-Racial Society", Mr. Alan

Paton said: "I have one belief so fundamental that I would not seek agreement with any person except on that basis, because it is clear that we could have no common purpose. This belief is that any good society must guarantee certain civil rights to its citizens, and that these civil rights are fundamental to human freedom. These rights were called 'inalienable and basic' by the Bloemfontein Conference, and included the inviolability of home and person and the right to free assembly, travel, movement, and association. Why are such rights regarded by many as being inalienable and basic? Why should rights be basic? I find that I respond at once to two philosophic justifications for it, one religious and the other humanistic. The religious justification is primarily Judaic, in that man was made in the image of God; and while he was made of dust and ashes, yet for his sake was the world created. This proud contention has been the boast of the humblest of men and it is further strengthened by the Christian belief in the Incarnation, by which man became the dwelling-place of divinity. Therefore any ill-treatment of him, any denial of his dignity as God's creature is an offence against both God and man. . . .

"The word humanistic is often reserved for those theories which find complete justification in a belief in the value and dignity of the human person, not as a creature of God, but as himself. This human person is regarded as someone of account, and not a proper subject for tyranny. This man is a man, and no other man nor any group of men is good enough to deny him his basic liberties. This humanistic belief in human liberty as something inseparable from life can be as powerfully held as any religio-humanist belief. . . . In my opinion the two beliefs have this in common, that they both partake of the nature of faith, being concerned with something that can hardly be proved, namely that man has a meaning, and because he has a meaning, he is not made to be pushed around. . . .

"Whatever be the steps that lead us from White supremacy to non-racial democracy, we should promise ourselves a written Constitution. I do not suggest that it will cure all our ills.

"The question I wish to ask is whether there are any civil rights especially appropriate to a multi-racial society? So far I have maintained the view that civil rights are fundamental to human life, and that unless they are so regarded, human freedom will be vulnerable. In that case, are not civil rights in a multi-racial society much the same as civil rights in any other kind of society? Or are we considering the possibility of differential civil rights, with different codes appropriate to the different races, on the assumption, I presume, that people of different races are fundamentally different? It seems to me if we return to our two original justifications for civil rights, based on certain fundamental doctrines of man, that it would be possible only as an afterthought to impart any considerations of race. . . .

"I come to the conclusion . . . that Civil Rights and a State Policy of Racial Differentiation (or Separation) cannot survive together, and it seems to me to have been proved beyond doubt in our own country. . . . A constitution might offer to guarantee language and other group rights. But it could not offer guarantees of a kind that restricted the civil rights of others; it could not perpetuate inequalities, or entrench racial privilege."

In his closing address, the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, said: "For more than nine years we have lived through a period of rapidly deteriorating race relations and mounting racial tension. Whatever the sphere of human activity may be that we examine, the indictment against *apartheid* is indeed formidable. But the main count against *apartheid* is that it never regards human beings as persons. Indeed, it declares in effect that human beings only have worth in so far as they have value to the racial group to which they happen to belong. Judged from the standpoint of the Christian ethic, with its emphasis on the value of the individual, his worth as a person, and his capacity to respond to other human beings with generosity and sacrifice, *apartheid* must be condemned as unethical. The very fact that those responsible for translating this theory into practice are compelled to deal unjustly in so many ways with so many people, reveals *apartheid* for the vicious and evil thing it truly is. . . .

"Those who first responded to the call issued at the Bloemfontein Conference never envisaged that this conference would be an end in itself. Still less did they imagine that it would ever produce a blue-print for a multi-racial society in South Africa, rather they visualized it as the begin-

ning of a process, but a beginning that, taken together with the Conference at Bloemfontein last year, might well go down in history as the beginning of the turning of the tide in South Africa. . . .

"We shall not lightly turn our backs on the task to which we have applied ourselves in these days of conference. So I would leave with you some sentences from a speech by Abraham Lincoln delivered a century ago. Words which are strongly applicable to us at this time:

"We live in the midst of alarms; anxiety beclouds the future; we expect some new disaster with each newspaper we read. Are we in a healthful political state? Are not the tendencies plain? Do not the signs of the times point plainly the way in which we are going? As this struggle is likely to be long and earnest, we must not by our action repel any who are in sympathy with us in the main, but win all to our standard. We must not belittle nor overlook the facts of our condition—that we are new and comparatively weak, while our enemies are entrenched and relatively strong. They have the administrative and political power; and right or wrong, at present they have the numbers. . . . We will make converts day by day; we will grow strong by calmness and moderation; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures."

## Treason Inquiry<sup>1</sup>

The Crown has withdrawn allegations against 61 of the 156 persons who have been appearing at the treason case preparatory examination. The preliminary proceedings against the remaining ninety-five accused were resumed on January 13.

The persons against whom proceedings have been withdrawn are Mahomed Asmal, Yetta Barenblatt, Isaac Bokala, Sulima Esakjee, Joseph M. Kumalo, Norman Levy, V. Make, Piet Makgofe, E. Malele, S. Masimuli, July Mashaba, J. S. A. Mavuso, M. K. Mpho, Ida Mtwana, William A. Ngwendu, L. Nkosi, J. Poo, J. Hadebe, Mary Ranthia, Mark W. Stope, Cleopas Sibande, O. Tambo, R. Tangi, J. Buza, Assa Dawood, C. Makbolisa, J. Morolong, Lionel Morison, J. Mphozo, J. Mtina, G. Ngotyana, H. Sibeko, R. September, H. Silinga, F. Baard, the Rev. J. H. Calata, S. Damons, D. Fugani, the Rev. W. S. Gawe, C. Jason, P. Mashibane, F. Matombla, E. Mfafa, S. Vanga, Mrs. J. Arenstein, A. Gumede, J. Hoogendyk, Chief A. J. Luthuli, P. G. Mei, Bertha Mkize, H. Ngcobo, Dorothy Nembu, H. S. M. Pillay, E. Shanley, Dorothy Shanley, Debi Singh, Gabriel Dechaba, J. Mafura, Martha Moglakoane, Leslie Monanyane, and Abraham Sechoaneng.

Chief A. J. Luthuli is the President-General of the African National Congress. Some years ago the Government ordered him either to withdraw as head of the A.N.C. or forfeit his role as a chief of one of the Zulu tribes, he refused and was deposed. Later the Government issued an order restricting Luthuli's movements to his home district of Stanger in Natal, thus preventing him from attending meetings as President-General of the A.N.C. Nevertheless, the Congress continued from year to year to elect him to his position. (*Pretoria News*, December 18, 1957.)

In an editorial reviewing the progress of the trial, *The Times* (December 18, 1957) commented: "Nationalist supporters have themselves protested against the mis-description of these long-drawn proceedings as a trial. They are in fact only a preliminary investigation before a magistrate. There are merely 'allegations' of high treason and offences against various statutes, for the most part concerned with the outlawry of Communism. It is these allegations that are being investigated, with a view to framing a charge if they are found to have substance. That is the form of the proceedings. The substance is a vast political heresy-hunt, in the cause of the dogma of *apartheid*, in which it is sought to prove that the more uncompromising leaders of dissent are by their opposition engaging in a conspiracy that threatens the security of the State. To this end more than 1,400 documents have been seized and tendered in evidence; and week after week and month after month the police witnesses have droned out the records of forgotten oratory in the indignation meetings of left-wing societies, while the 156 behind the bars have eaten their sandwiches, attended to

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 4 and 5; V, 1-3.



their private correspondence, written their articles or their sermons, or simply gone to sleep; while the readers of the newspapers have long ago become indifferent to the whole sorry business.

"There may of course be some foundation for the Government's case. It would not be surprising if some of the disfranchised Black majority, abetted by European sympathizers, allowed their resentment of exclusion from full citizenship of their country to run into courses that might be deemed seditious. But the case that is being made out is essentially a denunciation by a party of the leaders of a party or parties opposed to it, and is of a kind that calls emphatically for argument in a political rather than a forensic setting. Treason, in free countries, is always regarded as a charge that needs the most precise definition and scrupulous proof in each individual case. The idea that justice can be done to the separate merits of 156 defendants, or even of ninety-five, in the present mass inquiry and some subsequent trial before a judge—for they are not entitled to trial by jury—is self-evidently absurd."

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 18, 1957) wrote: "The South African Attorney-General is reported as saying: 'We will notify (those who have been discharged) so that they can make arrangements for the future and incidentally for Christmas.' It is particularly considerate of him to remember this year that it is Christmas; those he now agrees are innocent spent last Christmas in different circumstances. We must be thankful for small mercies: the sixty-one have only spent a year of their lives with accusations of treason hanging over them. The Government might have taken much longer to make up its mind. It would be improper, while their cases are still *sub judice*, to comment on the Christmas that the other ninety-five accused will pass. But the ordeal of the sixty-one makes it difficult to feel much respect for their prosecutors. The Government has somewhat redeemed itself by its belated act of justice (although it is difficult to see how it can restore to its victims the year it has ruined for them); it would gain still further in the eyes of free men if it discovered more innocent men amongst the accused."

While 120 children laughed and frolicked at their Christmas party in Johannesburg three members of the Security Branch stood outside and waited "for something to happen". The children, all between one and twelve years, were sons and daughters of treason trial "suspects" and they were holding their party in Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg. As they trooped into the hall, three men—a European and two non-Europeans—took names and details. After that they waited outside until the end of the party. The Security Branch men said that they had not been sent for any specific purpose, but just to "keep an eye on things in case anything happens". (*Sunday Express*, December 8, 1957)

## The Political Scene

The *Manchester Guardian* (January 13, 1958) reported that in the absence of the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, who was ill, the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, would preside over Cabinet meetings and act as Prime Minister during the present short session of Parliament. The Cabinet would discuss three main questions. The first was the state of unrest among Africans which had recently increased: strong opposition to the Government's efforts to issue pass-books to African women had resulted in rioting in the Transvaal, and the Nationalist Press had been "hinting darkly" that the movement against passes for women had been stirred up by agitators from the urban areas, and that Parliament would be called upon to pass special legislation against the "agitators" and the "sinister forces" behind them.

The *Times* (December 2, 1957) wrote: "Mr. Harry Oppenheimer . . . announced his retirement from politics. He said the death of his father (Sir Ernest Oppenheimer) had brought him heavy business responsibilities 'which cannot be discharged properly if I remain actively engaged in political controversy'. . . . Mr. Oppenheimer has for some time been the most active and influential member of the progressive wing of the United Party."

Dr. Theo Wassenaar, former leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal Provincial Council, resigned for health reasons as leader of the National Democratic Party, which he founded recently "to foster a spirit

of mutual trust and tolerance between English and Afrikaans-speaking sections of South Africa by guaranteeing unconditional and irrevocable political and language rights."<sup>1</sup> (*The Times*, December 18, 1957.)

At the forthcoming general election one of the main platforms of the Liberal Party's election campaign will be the abolition of pass laws. This was decided at the Party's national congress when provincial divisions were asked to establish commissions to devise a public campaign for the abolition of passes for Africans.

The Congress approved the findings of the multi-racial conference held in Johannesburg, and instructed Liberal Party Parliamentary representatives to request Parliament to give serious consideration to the papers presented at the conference. Resolutions were passed protesting against the increasing intrusion and the secrecy of the Security Police; opposing the extension of the pass system to African women; and calling for protest meetings in all areas where hearings under the Group Areas Act were staged. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 17, 1957.)

Following a statement of policy by Chief A. J. Luthuli on the non-Europeans' role in the General Elections, the Transvaal African National Congress, Indian Congress, S.A. Coloured People's Organization, Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions issued a joint statement which said: "The view that because the non-White people do not have the vote the battle between the political parties has nothing to do with them should be abandoned once and for all time by every member of the Congress Movement."

"The General Elections do concern us! Never have our people known a tyranny as severe as the Nats have imposed on us since their accession to power in 1948. The non-White people have been dragged further and further towards enslavement."

"Congress opposition to the Nats is not based on any confusion about the aims of the United Party, which too often has been but a pale shadow of the Nats and which has abdicated its role of a really forceful parliamentary opposition to the Nats. But the defeat of the Nats and a government more yielding to pressures from within the country from the majority of the people would create opportunities for the people to press forward for their rights and grant opportunities for the rapid development and maturing of the Congress struggle." (*New Age*, December 5, 1957.)

The national conference of the South African Coloured People's Organization unanimously decided that it would contest Coloured constituencies in the election to be held under the Separate Representation of Voters Act. The general secretary, Mr. R. September, said that candidates would have to have the support and approval of the Congress Movement.

It was likely that some of the candidates would be people who were or had been involved in the treason inquiry. The resolution said: "We are not impressed by certain people who have shown their intention to stand. It is strongly felt that no benefit could accrue to the non-European people by the adoption of candidates who are unacquainted with their aspirations and desires and are politically at variance with them." (*South Africa*, January 11, 1958.)

Under the Act, there will be four M.P.s and two senators and two members of the Cape Provincial Council, all of whom must be White, elected by Coloured males on a communal roll.

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dönges, said that his statement about the Division of Coloured Affairs<sup>2</sup> had been incorrectly reported. He had announced the raising of the Division on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission to a full-fledged and independent department of State: he had not said that it would have a Minister of Coloured Affairs at its head, in other words, that there would be a special Ministry of Coloured Affairs; he had declared that this act was a milestone on the road of positive *apartheid*, but had not referred to total *apartheid*. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November, 1958.)

At its Annual Conference the African National Congress resolved that it would work to achieve the abolition of the pass laws; a minimum wage of £1 a day; the repeal of the Group Area Act and the ending of the forced removal of people from their homes; the defeat of the Nationalist Government and the building of a united front to achieve this. It reaffirmed its

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5 and 6. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

faith in the Freedom Charter and its confidence in those who had been accused of treason. (*New Age*, December 19, 1957.)

Observers agreed that the most significant feature of the meeting was that the moderate leadership of ex-Chief Alfred Luthuli succeeded in maintaining its position although threatened by a small but powerful group of "nationalists", who wanted less co-operation with Europeans, Indians and Coloureds.

Encouraged by the results of boycotts<sup>1</sup> in Johannesburg and elsewhere, young African leaders arrived at the Conference ready to question the leadership of the moderates who were acting in place of the Luthuli group, but the calls of the "rebels", or nationalists, for stronger measures, were ignored by the acting leaders. It is reported that these leaders were concerned about a rumour that the African National Congress was to be banned next year. They felt that any drastic decisions at the Conference would harm the organization. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 23, 1957.)

Mr. A. H. Broeksma, Q.C., announced he would stand as an independent candidate for the Hottentots-Holland constituency at the General Election this year. "I will stand as a Constitutional Democrat—but that is not a new party, it is simply a label for myself, to identify the principles for which I fight," he said. Mr. Broeksma stood as a United Party candidate in False Bay in 1953; he was defeated by Mr. C. V. de Villiers (Nat.). Asked why he was now standing as an independent, he said: "I hold very strong views on the Group Areas Act, on which the United Party has now compromised. I do not believe in the tag of European supremacy and leadership at all costs. Leadership must be earned on moral, intellectual and spiritual grounds. All decent-minded people would like to see the order of the South Africa Act re-established. We must get back to a basis of morals and moral principles."

Mr. Broeksma was constitutional adviser to the Prime Minister from 1933 to 1937, Secretary for Defence from 1937 to 1939 and then, for seven years Attorney-General for the Cape before going into private practice at the Bar. He was appointed Judge-Advocate-General for the Department of Defence in 1940 and for ten years was legal adviser to the Cape provincial administration. During 1950 he sat for two months on the Cape bench as an acting judge. In 1952 when he was offered a judgeship, he declined it. (*Pretoria News*, November 11, 1957.)

### African Achievements

The man who translated Shakespeare into Zulu, Mr. King Edward Masinga, senior Zulu programme announcer for the S.A.B.C. in Durban, has left for America to take up a study grant from the American Government. Mr. Masinga will study broadcasting, drama and entertainment; he is an honorary member of the International Mark Twain Society of New York, and his wife is a direct descendant of the Zulu chief Mpande.

Mr. Ezekiel Pule Lebone, an interpreter attached to the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court, has had a book of Sotho folklore published and has another two ready for publication. The tales he relates were all gathered from childhood conversations with his grandmother, "Ou Mikkie", who was a well-known character in the Free State, and who died in 1938 at the reputed age of 106 years. Mr. Lebone, who was born at Marquard in the Free State forty-seven years ago, was a schoolteacher before joining the Department of Justice. (*Star*, November 1 and 15, 1957.)

The *Star* (November 27, 1957) reported: "One of the proudest and happiest fathers in Johannesburg today is . . . Mr. William Ngakane, who believes in giving his children the educational advantages he and his wife had when they were young. Last week his son, Lionel, who has established himself as a top-class actor in Britain, returned to South Africa to take part in the filming of Joy Packer's book *Nor the Moon by Night*. In the same week he had news that his younger son, 27-year-old Pascal Ngakane, graduated with honours from the Non-European Medical School of Natal University . . . (he) is one of the first batch of graduates from this school and one of three who passed with honours. One of Mr. Ngakane's daughters is studying for her Master of Arts degree in Natal. The youngest child, another daughter, is taking her Matriculation examination this year . . . Mr. Ngakane has been a field officer of the Institute of Race Relations for the last ten years, but he is leaving this post at the

end of the month to start a private practice as a 'social consultant'. He will help urban Natives with legal and domestic difficulties."

Mr. Darius Dhlomo has been offered a professional soccer post with the A.V.C. Herakles Club of Holland. Mr. Dhlomo, who is 25, is a school-teacher, programme organizer of the Y.M.C.A. Bantu Social Centre, and holder of the national cruiser-weight and the Natal middleweight non-European boxing titles. He captained the South African XI last July in the Federation tournament, and is able to play in any position. (*Star*, December 18, 1957.)

After twelve months of negotiations, the Government agreed to give passports to ten non-Europeans to attend church conferences in Ghana and Nigeria; among them were the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane (chairman of the recent Multi-Racial Conference), Dr. A. B. Xuma, and the Rt. Rev. F. H. Gow. Among Europeans attending will be Dr. A. W. Blaxall, secretary-treasurer of the Christian Council of S.A., the Rev. Illsley, head of the Moroka Missionary Institute, and Mr. Alan Paton, leader of the Liberal Party of S.A. (*Sunday Times*, December 22, 1957.)

### Outcome of Pass Riots

Rioting broke out during the Christmas holiday at Linokana, near Zeerust in the Transvaal, the scene of much unrest and violence recently because African women had been required to carry identity documents.<sup>1</sup> The Pretoria police reported the murder of an African induna (headman) and three attempted murders, including an attack on the wife of a chief. They said that twenty-seven huts had been burned to the ground and that twenty-five Africans, all of them from Johannesburg, had been arrested. (*The Times*, December 28, 1957.)

In a despatch to the *Observer* (January 12, 1958), Cyril Dunn wrote: ". . . The Tribal Council (at Zeerust) has been disestablished and rule of the Bafuruts by the European Native Commissioner, Mr. Carl Richter, seems now to be open and absolute, with some of the chiefs as his agents. But these chiefs have . . . asked the Nationalist Government to give them permanent backing by armed European police. There are already police camps outside the villages of two chiefs, but these are temporary affairs set up to 'pacify' the region. The chiefs fear that when these forces are withdrawn they will be murdered by their own people. . . .

"It is clear that what began as demonstrations by women against passes has turned into something much more serious. Many tribesmen work in Johannesburg, but are strictly migrant labour. They are now infuriated by the news that, in their absence, their wives and children are being grossly ill-treated by their own chiefs and imprisoned by the Europeans. People close to the tribe say that if the Government withdraws its forces the violent incursion of tribesmen from Johannesburg, now sporadic, will become general. . . .

"The official view of what is happening in the Marico Hills is that the African National Congress is stirring the Bafuruts up. It is true that one hears tribesfolk saying 'We are A.N.C.', but they seem to be expressing a state of mind rather than a fact—a desire by a tribe deserted by its head to feel that it still belongs to something powerful. Violence against pro-Government chiefs is more probably being directed by some incensed young men from the Bafuruts Association in Johannesburg. Friends of the tribe hope that Congress will be able to take these tribesmen in hand and persuade them to abandon violence in favour of passive resistance."

### Centlivres Commission

Three former judges have accepted the invitation of the Johannesburg City Council to sit on a Commission of Inquiry into the faction "war" which broke out in the south-western areas in September.<sup>2</sup> They are Mr. van der Sandt Centlivres, retired Chief Justice of the Union, Mr. L. Greenberg, former judge of appeal, who was also Acting Chief Justice of the Union, and Mr. E. R. Roper, former judge of the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court. The inquiry will start on January 20.

Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, and General C. I. Rademeyer, Commissioner of Police, told the Council that officials of their departments would not appear before the Commission and would not submit memoranda. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 31, 1957.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 1.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 1-3. <sup>3</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (January 3, 1958) said that the Centlivres Commission would be "one of the big features of the Council's work this year" and that its findings would probably influence Council policy in the future. Plans to increase and expand recreational facilities for Johannesburg's 500,000 African township dwellers would go ahead during the coming year; they would include the provision of more playing fields, special "community-centre type beerhalls", crèches and "a golf course or two". Work had already started on a £2½ million electricity scheme in the south-western townships; power was being laid on at the older townships first.

The Council's non-European Affairs Committee hoped to complete all its building work in the African areas by 1960. A feature of the housing scheme was the policy of employing more and more African builders; the Council hoped to reach the stage at which nearly all building work was done by Africans in their own areas.

## Bantu Authorities<sup>1</sup>

### Zululand

*New Age* (December 12 and 19, 1957) reported that when Paramount Chief Cyprian Bhokuzulu "accepted Bantu Authorities" at a special ceremony at the Royal Kraal, Nongoma, 3,000 Zulus attended, "not to celebrate but to show their angry disapproval"; later, the Chief's wife, Majoli Thoko, said that since her people did not want the Bantu Authorities Act, she did not want it either; she would take her seat "with the rank and file". (Cyprian Bhokuzulu is head of the Usutu, the Zulu royal tribe.)

Chief A. J. Lutuli sent this message to the chiefs and African people of Natal: "It is indeed unfortunate that the Government is depending upon the national loyalty of the people to their paramount chief for the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act. It is equally unfortunate that the Government should believe that the acceptance of Bantu Authorities by the Paramount Chief will make the Act applicable to all tribes without their prior consent. Whatever opinions chiefs as individuals might have, they must not forget that the Zulu people as a whole do not want Bantu Authorities because they know that it is another and more vicious instrument of *apartheid*. They reject Bantu Authorities because they realize that its application would lead to greater oppression and hardship.

"Chiefs must be careful not to alienate the support and love which they receive from their subjects. The African National Congress has deep sympathies and respect for the chiefs. We know that they are often subjected to severe intimidation, but they must never forget that they are first and foremost representatives of the people, not the Government. They can be loyal to the Government but not if such loyalty means sacrificing the interests of their tribes.

"Our chiefs must withstand threats and intimidation, for there comes a time when a chief must make a stand, must protect his people against injustice and danger and must not place any obstacle in the way of advancement towards democracy and freedom. That time is now. The acceptance of Bantu Authorities by the Paramount Chief is an act which encourages the dictatorship of the few over the majority. It strikes at the roots of our traditional democratic chieftainship based upon the wishes and interests of the people. Today the tribesmen await brave leadership from their chiefs. Every chief should choose deportation rather than be despised by his people."

### Sekhukhuniland

*New Age* (December 12, 1957) wrote: "Sekhukhuniland's Chief has been suspended for one month. This action has been taken in terms of the new powers given Native Commissioners to 'punish' Chiefs by proclamation. The reason for the Chief's suspension seems to be his failure to attend a meeting of Chiefs and sub-chiefs called to discuss Bantu Authorities. On December 4 a Native-Affairs Department official from Pretoria arrived in Sekhukhuniland to instal a substitute chief for the period of suspension of Chief Sekhukhuni.

"Sekhukhuniland is incensed at this action and the situation is tense. Tribesmen have flocked to be with their Chief, many suspicious that the suspension will not only be for a month and that this might be the start of more serious action against their Chief. Two leading men were deported

from Sekhukhuniland earlier this year for their opposition to Bantu Authorities.

"Tribesmen who asked questions about the serving of the suspension order on Chief Sekhukhuni were thrown into the pick-up van. Five men are at present under arrest. One is charged under the Native Administration Act with obstructing the Native Commissioner in the execution of his duties. It is alleged he advised the Chief not to accept the letter suspending him. Four others are charged with interfering with the police in the execution of their duties. A petition to court asking for an order compelling the police to allow the accused to be seen by their lawyer was submitted early this week following the refusal of the police to let the men in custody be interviewed by their legal representative."

### The Dinkwanyana

*Golden City Post* (December 8, 1957) wrote: "The 400 Dinkwanyana tribesmen living on the Boomplaats Trust Farm near Lydenburg, have 'declared war on the Government' according to the Chief Native Commissioner for Pietersburg, Mr. G. G. Bosman. They have dared to defy a Government order to quit their farm valued at £80,000. The Native Commissioner said this at an *indaba* held under the Dinkwanyana *kgotla* tree when the tribe told the Government that they would 'Sell nothing, say nothing and sign nothing'. 'I take it that this means that you will not move?' Mr. Bosman said. The tribe answered with a loud 'Yes'!

"A large contingent of policemen, recruited from other districts, stood by. They were mostly armed with riot-guns, sten-guns and assegais.

"Mr. Bosman, accompanied by Mr. D. Cronje, Chief Magistrate of Lydenburg, and Mr. T. van der Walt, a Government land surveyor, told the Dinkwanyana tribesmen that they should move to an area sixty-three miles away. Boomplaats, they said, was an area in which Whites should stay . . . the tribe was offered another area called Sterkspruit, of 'equal, if not more value' . . .

"Mr. Van der Walt said that the new area was greatly productive, had good prospects for development and evergreen pastures. At this a local tribal elder stood up and asked: 'If the other land is so good, why do the White people not go there?' He was not answered. . . .

"When Mr. Bosman finally asked those who were not willing to move to raise their hands, 400 pairs of hands shot up simultaneously. That afternoon was a day of jubilation in the tiny valley. Old women went and rang the church bell, while crippled old men threw their crutches into the air. As the valley subsided into its quiet atmosphere, the people, who had vowed that they would 'sign nothing, say nothing, and sell nothing' became again their usual smiling and hard-working selves."

### The Mamatola

Four hundred members of the Mamatola tribe<sup>1</sup> of the reserve near Tzaneen were ordered to move to the farm Metz, about thirty miles away, by January 13, under a Governor-General's removal order issued under the Native Administration Act. Members of the tribe are contesting the deposition of their acting chief by the Minister of Native Affairs, and the transfer of their post office and school to Metz. They submitted that they could only be forced to leave their 200-year-old home by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament.

When the case was called in the Supreme Court on December 5, counsel for the tribesmen asked for a postponement. The hearing was set down for February 8.

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, stated that, if the tribe refused to comply with the removal order, he would seek Parliamentary approval for the removal by a resolution of both Houses of Parliament. Subsequently, the tribe decided to disregard the order, even at the risk of being removed by force. Although the matter will now be thrown open for debate in Parliament, the Native Commissioner at Tzaneen has given instructions that anyone found in the area without a permit "should be arrested immediately". (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 28, 1957; January 13, 1958.)

### Urban Consuls

The political correspondent of *The Star* (December 10, 1957) wrote: "The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, has invited all Bantu

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 2 and 3.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 1 and 2.



tribal authorities—which up to now have functioned only in rural areas—to nominate ‘consuls’ in the towns where their tribesmen are. These ‘consuls’ are to look after the interests of their tribesmen working in the towns and could also be used by the Government, acting through the chiefs and tribal authorities, to exert restraint on urban tribesmen in times of trouble or disturbance. . . . This latest move will probably make the Native urban advisory boards redundant, and Natives are consequently expecting legislation next year to replace the boards with tribal authority representatives. The Department of Native Affairs says it is unable either to confirm or deny that legislation of this nature is coming soon. Those who are familiar with the trend of Native administration, however, think it is likely. Since their formation in 1924 the advisory boards never have had any real power, whereas the tribal authorities have a little. Moreover the advisory boards have tended to become a focus of some of the more advanced Native urban opinion with which the Government has not been sympathetic. They have organized an annual congress which, though perfectly legal, is not provided for in the law which created them and which gives them a national, not tribal, character. Furthermore, they are voting units for electing Natives’ representatives to the Senate—and all such senators have invariably opposed the Nationalist Government. If the advisory boards were abolished, the other voting units concerned, mainly chiefs and local councils, would have proportionately more say and the result of these elections could be different. The next Native senatorial elections are due in 1959.”

### University Apartheid

A memorandum by the University of South Africa has been submitted to the Commission of Inquiry into University *Apartheid* sitting in Cape Town and evidence has been given by its principal, Professor S. Pauw.<sup>1</sup>

The memorandum said no opinion would be expressed either in favour of or against the Separate Universities Education Bill. The purpose of the memorandum was to give a factual enumeration of the manner in which the University of South Africa could help any new university institution. The traditional role of the University of South Africa as far as university education in South Africa was concerned was that of maintaining standards for budding universities. All other universities, before they became independent, had to meet the standards prescribed by the University of South Africa.

About twenty students from the University of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand University, with placards protesting against university *apartheid*, picketed the building when the Commission of Inquiry began its sitting. The students lined up on either side of a large poster bearing the words: “We have not forgotten the University *Apartheid* Bill.” They all carried placards bearing slogans in both languages, such as “Truth is colour blind”, “Segregation without indoctrination”, “Closed universities mean closed minds” and “Support a free U.C.T.”

Professor D. V. Cowen, Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape Town, said in evidence before the Commission that the Bill should be scrapped and entirely rewritten—if it should ever have been written at all. There was no analogy between the university colleges which had grown up under the University of South Africa to become full universities themselves and the segregated institutions which would be established by the Bill. The provisions of the Bill effectively destroyed both university autonomy and academic freedom.

In a memorandum, the University said it declared its conviction that the Bill was bad both in its principles and in its details. In suggesting amendments to the Bill, the University’s object was solely to “mitigate an evil” to which the Government had declared itself committed.

The chairman of the Commission, Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel, M.P., said the University appeared to object mainly to two things, the creation of State universities and having Civil Servants as members of the staffs of these universities.

Professor R. W. James, acting principal of the University, said: “The kind of State university which emerges from this Bill I object to most strongly. On the other hand, the State universities of Holland and Germany represent a long and ancient tradition of freedom.” In Germany, however, State control had enabled the State to get rid of the universities’

most distinguished professors. The type of college envisaged by the Bill, its method of government, with far more Ministerial control than in any existing South African University, would lead to a lowering of standards. Not many university teachers could take positions in universities which were to be controlled in this way and university standards were governed largely by the quality of the staff. “You cannot create a university in a vacuum. This Bill proposes to create three or four. I have grave misgivings about the possibility of success. We are very jealous indeed of our university standards. They are hardly won and easily lost. What we object to is giving the name university or university college to a body which is manifestly nothing of the kind.”

Dr. Carel de Wet, a member of the Commission, asked what provisions of the Bill made U.C.T. fear that academic freedom would be threatened. Professor Cowen replied that in the conception of academic freedom the emphasis was on the individual—his freedom to seek the truth and to proclaim it. The provisions of the Bill effectively destroyed both academic freedom and university autonomy. One of the fundamental assumptions of the Bill was that a university teacher could be equated with a public servant, subject to the Public Service Act. “A public servant may rightly be expected to subordinate his own judgement to that of his Minister. A university teacher, however, owes no loyalty in this sense to his employer. His loyalty is to his conscience. . . . Those conditions stifle and destroy the atmosphere in which alone university work can be done. Section 25 (Q), for instance, made it an offence for teachers at these proposed colleges to propagate ideas ‘calculated to impede, obstruct or undermine the work of any Government department’. Section 25 (N) made it an offence publicly to comment adversely upon any department of the Government. Prohibition of public comment was a most severe curtailment of freedom—it was a university teacher’s duty to comment,” Professor Cowen said.

In reply to Dr. de Wet, Professor James said there were no academic restrictions on non-European students at Cape Town University, except in the medical faculty, where they were imposed by limited facilities for practical training. For the University generally there was no quota of admission for non-Europeans. “Students are admitted purely on their academic qualifications. Usually we do not know when they apply whether they are White or not.”

Mr. D. J. Mostert, a member of the Commission, asked Professor James how the University would propose dealing with the question of criminal sanctions, and what they would put in their place. Professor James said the University of Cape Town had never experienced any need for criminal sanctions, and if any college felt the need for them it did not deserve the name of a university, but should be called a State college or institution. Professor James said that the mere hint of a possible change in the constitution of South African universities was having a disastrous effect on the recruitment of staff, for it was feared that similar conditions could be imposed on the other universities. Earlier, Professor Matthews of Fort Hare said that since the publication of the Bill, the College had lost a “considerable number” of staff members.

While associating itself with the principle of separate universities for separate race groups, the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) felt that the Separate Universities Bill in its present form would not provide proper universities for non-Europeans. Sabra has on various occasions expressed itself in favour of the establishment of separate university facilities for the non-European population groups, because this was the only way in which the problems connected with mixed universities (which would steadily grow) could be overcome.

Sabra regarded three elements as essential to the proposed separate university facilities. First, the proposed non-European university institutions must be capable of developing into real universities in the full sense of the word. It was freely conceded that this could not happen in a few years, but the intention that these universities should reach a status equivalent to that of existing South African universities should be manifest. Second, the impression that facilities were being created which were inferior to those at existing universities must be avoided as far as possible. If these new institutions were stigmatized as inferior, it would not only weaken the case for such institutions but would also have unfortunate and detrimental repercussions, the results of which could not be predicted. Finally, the State, in view of the fact that it would take the initiative and

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 1-3.

would supply the necessary funds, was entitled to a greater measure of control than was the case with the existing universities. To achieve the first two of these objects, everything possible would have to be done to attract the best lecturers to these colleges.

In the light of these considerations, Sabra felt that the provisions of the present Bill were not calculated to achieve the objects set out in the memorandum. Sabra would, therefore, prefer that control of university colleges should be exercised by a council, as in the case of the existing universities. The lecturers and other officials of the universities should be regarded as employees of the council, and subject to its control and supervision. The university colleges should be independent institutions with their own legal personalities. (*Pretoria News*, January 7-9; *Rand Daily Mail*, January 12, 1958.)

Professor F. R. Tomlinson, of Pretoria University, said that although he fully supported the principle of university *apartheid*, he strongly disapproved of the proposal that Bantu colleges, if established, should be Government run. Such colleges should be controlled by their own councils, which in the beginning might be mostly White, but in time should be wholly Bantu. He also disapproved of the proposal to ban the admittance of non-European students to the present "open" universities. He suggested rather making the Bantu colleges so attractive that the "open" universities would find their African students drained away. He believed that at least one Bantu college should be established immediately in the Transvaal, but did not support the proposal that such colleges should be confined to one Bantu racial group. (*The Times*, January 14, 1958.)

*The Times* (January 11, 1958) wrote: "All the leading members of the teaching staff at Fort Hare Native College oppose the disciplinary code in the Separate Universities Education Bill, although their political views differ. This was part of the evidence of Dr. D. A. De Villiers, Professor of Psychology at Fort Hare. Professor Burrows, principal of the college, and Professor Z. Matthews, vice-principal, were the other members of the Fort Hart delegation. They said they did not believe the time was ripe for the establishment of other native colleges, and opposed the establishment of separate colleges for separate Bantu ethnic groups."

The National Union of South African Students, which represents 14,000 South African students of all race groups said: "We can say with conviction that to drive the wedge of racial division now in an area where there is harmony is to embark, knowingly, on a path which will lead to the fostering of tension between the races and the withering of the harmony which is now enjoyed and cherished in a very large section of the university community. We say in all seriousness that the planners of this policy must bear the burden of responsibility for its consequences." The conditions under which staff would be employed at the non-White universities were also criticized. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 25, 1957.)

An association of more than a million students in the United States attacked *apartheid* in South African education. The president of the U.S. National Student Association, Mr. Ray Farabee, referred to the "gradual, but marked success" of United States efforts to eliminate segregation and described the South African policy of extending *apartheid* to all universities as "sadly ironic". He said students throughout the world were pointing to the Union's policy of *apartheid*. South African education could not be free until discrimination in its universities was ended. Something was wrong when one government was conspicuously alone among the free nations, the lone champion of separation. Mr. Farabee said: "We cannot believe that human dignity in South Africa is so totally unlike human dignity in other parts of the world." (*Star*, December 18, 1957.) Similar views were expressed in letters of protest sent to the Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, by the Swedish National Union of Students and the Makerere College Guild of East Africa. (*Pretoria News*, January 14, 1958.)

## Other Forms of Apartheid

### Bantu Education<sup>1</sup>

The board of governors of the Grace Dieu Anglican Church Secondary School for Natives in Pietersburg has decided that it cannot continue to run the school. The Rt. Rev. R. Selby Taylor, the Bishop of Pretoria, who is chairman of the board of governors, said that the governors had made

this decision with great reluctance, but considered they had no alternative. For more than two years permission had been sought for Grace Dieu to continue after the end of 1957 as a private school. In August it was thought that this permission had been granted. "But in mid-October, when a written communication was received, it became apparent that the conditions laid down by the Department of Native Affairs were unacceptable." Among other things, the permission given was subject to "such further conditions as the Minister may determine". The governors felt that it was impossible for them to continue to run the school under such a limitation.

The school will continue until the end of 1958 and in the meantime the Department of Native Affairs will negotiate terms for taking it over in 1959. (*Pretoria News*, December 29, 1958.)

*The Star* (December 19, 1957) reported that the Government has closed the training college of the Ekutuleni Mission in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, which provides the only facilities in the Union for training Native nursery-school teachers. In its fifteen years, the college has produced more than a hundred qualified teachers who are today working in location nursery schools all over the country.

"The superintendent, Father G. Sidebotham, Provincial of the Community of the Resurrection, said: 'The position of the college has been uncertain ever since the passing of the Bantu Education Act, and permission to continue has had to be sought from the Native Affairs Department each year. Last week, just after a committee had met to select students from the many applicants for enrolment in January, we received a letter informing us that the college must close at the end of next year and no new students must be enrolled. We have had to write to all the successful applicants and tell them that they cannot join the college after all. So passes out of existence another well-known institution to help Africans serve their own people in the fields of education and social service. This is another example of the results of a policy which seeks to eliminate the influence of missions and does not hesitate to destroy what has been carefully built up over the years.'

"Ekutuleni—the name means 'Place of Peace'—became known to people throughout the world when Alan Paton wrote about it in *Cry, the Beloved Country*."

A spokesman for the Department of Native Affairs said that the Department would initiate no steps to replace the college; any move to open a similar institution should come from African parents and local school boards. If they decided that such colleges were necessary, they could apply for permission to open them. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 20, 1957.)

South African contributions to the Roman Catholic fund to keep its mission schools open and to finance seminaries reached £700,000, compared with the original target of £500,000; this is in addition to contributions from other countries. The fund was started two years ago to enable the Church to close the financial gap which would result from the withdrawal of the State subsidy. The Church has 740 mission schools with a total enrolment of 120,000 pupils. (*South Africa*, December 21, 1957.)

New regulations recently gazetted prohibit African teachers at Bantu schools from contributing to the Press by interview or in any other manner; from publishing letters or articles criticizing or making unfavourable comment on the Department of Native Affairs, any other State department, a school committee, a school board or any Bantu authority, or any officer connected with any of these bodies, and encouraging disobedience or resistance to the laws of the State.

An African teacher will also be guilty of misconduct if he identifies himself with a political party, association or organization or body; or actively participates in political affairs or in the nomination or election of members of a school board, or Bantu tribal authority, or governing body or school committee, or Native local or advisory council, unless he has obtained the approval of the school board, after consultation with the Secretary for Native Affairs.

Charges of misconduct will be heard by the school board. Should it find a teacher guilty of misconduct, it may reprimand him, reduce his salary for a fixed period, transfer him to another school or dismiss him. The school board's decision will be final. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 24, 1957.)

Dr. Ray E. Phillips, founder and head of the Jan Hofmeyer School of

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 6; V, 3.

Social Science, retired in December; he and his wife intended to return to America, from where they had come to the Union as missionaries forty years ago. Dr. Phillips said: "My wife and I would be a little less reluctant to go if we felt there were opportunities to improve race relations and to help the urban Native. But any further movement in that direction is blocked. The time for talking and co-operation is gone."

He and a number of prominent Africans and Europeans had interviewed the Secretary for Native Affairs (Dr. Eiselen) to discuss plans for future work; they had been told that the Government could give no guarantee that they could continue as they had been doing, and that their future would depend upon the manner in which Dr. Verwoerd implemented his *apartheid* programme. Dr. Phillips added: "It seems clear now that the weight of laws that are hammering down on the Natives will force me away. I cannot train social workers in a reserve. The Native is being driven away from the White. And I must part company with him, not because I want to, but because the law says I must. The Native is punch-drunk from laws. He has been hammered into submission. Laws rain about him like blows. You can't do this . . . you can't do that. He is leaderless now. His leaders have either been banned or face prosecution at the treason inquiry."

"If the Government were wise it would take the Natives into its confidence, possibly modify its programme. But it has lost all contact with the Native. The Native is on his own in sullen resentment. I'm not one of those who say all the Government's laws are bad. Some are very good. But the Native cannot be persuaded of that now. He has not been consulted; his leaders have been ignored. A frightening gulf is being created. What a tragedy it's been. It takes so little to keep them happy; so little to co-operate and treat them as human beings. Maybe a leader will arise among them. Certainly he will not be one of the present leaders. And when he does it will not be the time for talking. The present leaders and moderates are probably the last who will be able to co-operate." (*Sunday Express*, November 24, 1957.)

A bursary to enable non-Europeans to study social science at the University of the Witwatersrand has been established in honour of Dr. Phillips by the Johannesburg Co-ordinating Council of Social Welfare Organizations. The Chamber of Mines, the Bantu Welfare Trust and a number of individuals have contributed to the fund, which is still open. (*Star*, December 5, 1957.)

### Church Clause<sup>1</sup>

At the first public hearing of a deputation before the Durban Council for more than twenty years, the Council was told of the deep anxiety felt by church, cultural and welfare organizations in Durban which were threatened with possible banning under the Church Clause of the Native Laws Amendment Act. Mr. A. Goldberg, a former Member of Parliament, speaking for the Council for the Defence of Freedom of Association, said that in many instances the concurrence of the local authority was required before the Minister could sign the death warrant of the institutions concerned. "Your declaration of faith in continued racial association for the conduct of vital communal activities and your declared assurance that the Council cherishes the right of freedom of association will make those safeguards, as far as they go, a reality" he said.

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that the Native Laws Amendment Act was one of the few pieces of legislation of its kind in which the Minister of Native Affairs had not assumed for himself complete freedom of action. That, however, was not due to an oversight. The intensity of the outcry against the Bill drove the Minister to incorporate certain safeguards as an assurance against what many regarded as the whims and caprices of the Minister. "We seek to be assured that those safeguards do, in fact, constitute a reality." Organizations represented by the deputation included the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, University bodies such as N.U.S.A.S., the Lecturers' Association of the Natal University, the European S.R.C., youth movements such as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and Boy Scouts, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and the National Council of Women.

A poster 14 ft. long and 8 ft. high was put up in the grounds of St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, and on it was a message in foot-high red letters reading, "This cathedral is open to welcome men and women of all races to all services at all times." The poster replaced a small board with

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 1, 2, and 3.

similar wording which someone had removed from the steps of the cathedral, and which had been put there during parliamentary discussion on the "Church Clause". (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 8 and December 3, 1957.)

### Group Areas<sup>1</sup>

A conference between the principal cities of the Union and the Government to discuss proposals for amendment of the Group Areas Development Act was opened by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges. He pointed out that serious delays occurred under the present procedure where values of property were determined for the properties affected; it was now proposed that the Board should appoint its own valuers. Provision would be made for the right of appeal, where the owner was dissatisfied, to a revision court appointed by the administrator of the province.

Amendments were being introduced to give the Board power to act as the local authority and to perform its functions where necessary. The Board would later be able to transfer the area it had developed to the local authority concerned. The measure might seem to encroach on the fields of the local authority, but in fact they imported no new principle, since they were adapted from the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954, under which tens of thousands of Africans had been moved from the western areas of Johannesburg. In so far as the measures involved an element of compulsion, he hoped that it would not be necessary to apply them and that things would be achieved in a spirit of cordiality and goodwill. Wherever possible local authorities would be delegated powers under the Act to undertake the work themselves.

The Minister said that it was not the intention in any way to depart from the principles of sound town-planning. The amendment was being brought in to avoid delays and unnecessary expenditure in town-planning procedure.

The Durban City Council unanimously rejected the Government's proposed amendments. A motion that Durban should have "no further dealings with the Government about group areas legislation and unreservedly withdraw any previous support" was rejected by a majority of only one vote.

The Mayor of Durban, Mr. H. W. Jackson, said: "The Council feels that it must stand firm against methods which the Government proposes to employ in this particular instance. . . . The limit has been reached when the Government threatens to carry out the obligations of local authority in terms of the Act, and expects the ratepayers to bear the full cost. . . ." The Council would submit a memorandum of protest against the proposed changes. (*The Times*, November 30, 1957, and *Rand Daily Mail*, December 3, 1957.)

The *Star* (November 22, 1957) reported: "It is understood that Johannesburg, with the full support of most other local authorities, is almost totally opposed to the new proposals and especially to a further invasion of the City Council's liberties to manage its own uniquely complicated affairs. Already in Johannesburg, in Meadowlands, the Natives' Resettlement Board acts as a separate local authority within the city's municipal area. Now Johannesburg faces the prospect of the Group Areas Board being given similar powers: The implications in Johannesburg are far-reaching. On many occasions the city has been charged by the Government with failing to carry out, or actually impeding, the enforcement of the law of the land, especially in relation to non-European affairs."

The Cape Town City Council adopted a motion urging the Government to withdraw the proposed amendments. (*Pretoria News*, December 20, 1957.)

The police will in future be responsible for the investigation of irregularities arising from the Group Areas Act. A new division of the C.I.D., the "Group Areas Personnel", has been created for the purpose. Observers in Pretoria believed the complexities of the Act and the difficulties of checking compliance with it were proving too much for the officials in the Department of the Interior. The "Apartheid C.I.D." would investigate infringements and alleged offences under the Act, but the Department would still be responsible for the administration and enforcement of the legislation. (*Pretoria News*, December 24, 1957.)

### Labour

Non-European Garment Workers staged a mass walk-out in November

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 2 and 3.



in order to demonstrate that the Government's "job reservation" policy was unworkable.<sup>1</sup> Within two days the industry was virtually paralysed; factories in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley were either closed completely or running on skeleton staffs. In Germiston, claimed by a Nationalist M.P. to be "an all-White area for the garment industry", the situation crumbled as quickly as it had done elsewhere, the few White workers being placed on four hours' notice.

The walk-out was a completely peaceful operation. Miss Johanna Cornelius, General Secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, emphasized that it was not directed against the employers, who stood to lose as much on the job reservation issue as the workers. There was no threat of reprisals by the owners, and the workers undertook to make up the loss in production by working overtime at normal rates of pay. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 18 and 19; *Star*, November 20, 1957.)

The Political Reporter of the *Star* (November 21, 1957) wrote: "Job reservation, intended by the Government as an assurance to White workers that their interests will be protected, is going to make labour problems one of the paramount issues in the election campaign, with the Opposition contending that it is a 'philosophy of pessimism' and a 'red herring' . . . Under the present circumstances only a depression would force White workers who lost their present jobs into the clothing industry on such a scale that they can replace all the non-Europeans. The Government will be asked whether this is an admission that Nationalist policies will eventually cause a serious recession or a depression. The United Party line is that a 'White labour policy' is only acceptable in times such as the 1920's when poor Whites had to be provided for. In those times Whites had to be content with jobs as labourers on the roads and the railways. The question: Are the Government providing in advance for the poor Whites to come when economic recession forces White workers into jobs they do not want at present?"

"The third approach is that the Nationalists are . . . making the working man believe that he is safe because of work reservation, while he is being deprived of his only real defence, a strong trade union movement and protection by strict application of the 'rate for the job'."

"The fourth point is that job reservation is a sham not only because it cannot be applied in White areas, but also because the Government's policy of siting factories near the reserves makes it a farce. This is illustrated by the fact that workers in clothing factories near the Native areas earn less than half the wages of workers in the 'White' areas. The inevitable economic result will be eventually that all clothing factories will be sited near Native areas—with Natives doing all the work ostensibly 'reserved' for Whites under the recent work reservation decree."

*The Times* (November 22, 1957) reported: "Rand and Cape clothing manufacturers are moving or intend to move their factories to areas near African locations in Natal, or to other rural areas where there are large reservoirs of cheaper labour and no wage determinations, job reservation plans, or industrial councils. The same firms, already well established in 'Black' areas, are said to be selling at low prices a wide variety of clothing in the domestic and export markets. It is understood that several manufacturers in established areas such as Johannesburg and Germiston recently bought sites near the Natal locations with a view to transferring their operations. It is feared that undercutting in the Black areas will eventually destroy the industry in the controlled areas."

A resolution condemning Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act (the job reservation section) was passed unanimously by leaders of twenty-three trade unions representing 15,034 non-European workers in the Cape Peninsula. The resolution states: "It is a well-established fact that in certain industries today the overwhelming majority of workers are Coloureds and it is quite clear that if certain occupations are now to be reserved exclusively for Whites, industry would be severely handicapped and the economy of the country would be seriously threatened. It is also necessary to point out that the Government has from time to time proclaimed that the policy of *apartheid* is based on the principle of justice towards all. We cannot see where justice is to be found in a ministerial decree which could deprive Coloureds of their occupations—and therefore their livelihood—in order that persons of another colour should take their place."

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

The delegates formed a new organization, to be known as the S.A. Federation of Non-European Workers; a further conference of all non-White trade unions will be called later to approve its constitution. (*Sunday Times*, December 29, 1957.)

Industry's opposition to "the principles and policies of job reservation" was reiterated by the president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr. C. S. Marx. Job reservation measures for Europeans, Mr. Marx said, could tend to weaken European economic leadership—a concept which "the Government and organized industry hold in common". Mr. Marx emphasized that when industry referred to "job reservation" it did so because it was an industrial issue, just as were immigration policy, export policy and railway policy. These matters were discussed because they had a bearing upon industry. (*South Africa*, December 14, 1957.)

The Bantu paper, *The World* (November 30, 1957) wrote: "Many things, we are afraid, have happened which show beyond doubt that the discriminatory policy of this country in favour of the Europeans has had some rude revelations. What was supposed to be a fortress for European preservation now appears to be a shanty-house without a roof. . . . The greatly discussed job-reservation was said to be for the protection of the Whites. But it has turned out to be just the opposite . . . What is worse, the pattern of the clothing industry is to be duplicated in other industries. The prospect then is rather dismal for the European worker. But he is too naïve to see that the *apartheid* he is voting for is his own undoing."

### Professional

Native Attorneys appearing in Free State courts are legally entitled to sit at the same table normally used by their White counterparts and by prosecutors, according to a senior magistrate in the Eastern Free State. The magistrate, who spent many years on the Witwatersrand, where he had Native and Indian attorneys appearing in his court, said that if in the recent case where a Native attorney, Mr. Douglas Lukele, had been asked to use a separate table, Mr. Lukele had applied to the Supreme Court for redress, he would probably have been successful.<sup>1</sup>

*Golden City Post* (December 8, 1957) wrote: "African staff nurses who recently were promoted to become hospital sisters are uneasy. They told *Post* they believe the Provincial Administration plans to make them scapegoats in a bid to carry out the *apartheid* measures under the Nursing Amendment Act.<sup>2</sup> The three newly promoted sisters in the non-European section of the Pretoria General Hospital have been asked by Mrs. C. Searle, Director of Nurses' Services in the Transvaal Provincial Administration, to work on the new syllabus of the nurses. They said they would not accept the appointment until they heard the opinion of other nurses."

"At a meeting of non-European nurses in Pretoria held recently, the nurses unanimously decided to refer the matter to the newly formed multi-racial South African Nurses Federation. The meeting expressed the fear that the nurses will be used to prepare the new syllabus in terms of the Act which the nurses expect to be inferior to the present syllabus."

"When Mrs. Searle visited Baragwanath Hospital recently, where seventeen staff nurses have also been promoted, she told some of them to learn Afrikaans, as only nurses proficient in both official languages would be promoted. She told the older non-European sisters there would be other promotions. The more experienced sisters would be raised to supervisors. This, nurses told *Post*, will be a new position in nursing. According to the explanation given by Mrs. Searle, these supervisors will do the same work now done by European nurses. The new promotions have created uneasiness among the nurses on the Reef and in Pretoria. They feel positions . . . being created under the new Act . . . might go hand in hand with the changing of uniforms."

An application by an Indian doctor for permission to visit his patients in the Adam Cassim Ward of the non-European section of the Pretoria Hospital has been refused for the second time by the Hospital Board. The doctor first applied in 1954, but was refused on the ground that European sisters were in charge of non-European wards and "they could not take orders from non-European doctors". In renewing his application the Indian doctor said he believed that the Adam Cassim Ward—the building of which was financed by Mr. Adam Cassim, an Indian—was now in the charge of a non-European sister. In refusing his application, the Hospital

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 1-3.

Board said that although the Adam Cassim Ward was under a non-European sister at present, this system was still in an experimental stage, and if it did not work it would again be changed. Even at present, however, the ward sisters were responsible to a European clinical matron. "The Board is sympathetically inclined towards the doctor's application, but the time and circumstances do not permit us to allow the doctor to visit his patients in the hospital at this stage," the chairman said.

The Council of the South African Society of Journalists has formally written to the Industrial Registrar applying for exemption from the *apartheid* clauses of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Mr. David Douglas, chairman of the Cape Town branch of the S.A.S.J. said that the feeling of the majority of members of the Society was against the introduction of *apartheid*: "We feel that entrance to a professional society such as ours should be based on a man's ability." He said that at the recent congress of the Society it was pointed out that there would be world-wide repercussions should the S.A.S.J. voluntarily implement the *apartheid* policies of the Nationalist Government. The S.A.S.J. was not an idealistic movement, but a professional body and a registered trade union which had as two of its aims the protection of members and the improvement of professional standards. The Society's President, Mr. Chilwell, would discuss with members their attitude to a ballot which would be held to decide what the Society should do if the request for exemption is turned down by the Minister of Labour.

### Social and Cultural

The political correspondent of the *Star* (November 6, 1957) reported: "The Group Area Act, which came into force in its revised and consolidated form on November 1, is being used to apply statutory *apartheid* for the first time in entertainments and social matters. Hitherto *apartheid* in these fields has been observed either by convention or (as in Johannesburg) in terms of licences issued by local authorities. Now all races are prohibited, except under permit, from attending public cinemas, restaurants, tea-rooms or clubs in areas belonging to other races. A proclamation simply says that 'to do these things constitutes occupation' and the Act prohibits occupation of an area except by the race for whom it is designated . . .

"The proclamation will . . . make it impossible for inter-racial clubs to carry on except under permit. In view of all the criticism against such institutions from responsible men in the Government it seems unlikely that permits will be forthcoming. With this proclamation are others which renew the prohibitions against employing non-Whites in supervisory, executive or technical capacities over Whites, except on permit. They also prohibit Whites from working in group areas designated for other races, again except on permit."

Commenting on the recent visit to the Union of Mr. R. J. Simpson, a Ghana Government surveyor who attended a conference on Scientific and Technical Co-operation South of the Sahara, the *Star* (November 7, 1957) wrote: "The presence of a Ghanaian delegate at a conference in South Africa is a welcome indication that the Government is grasping, even if somewhat gingerly, the particularly prickly nettle of non-White representation in the Union. Everything possible is being done to spare Mr. Simpson the embarrassment which could hardly be avoided were he not being so carefully shepherded by officials of the Department of External Affairs. We trust, and believe, that his stay here will be entirely free of unpleasantness. It is, of course, unfortunate that this watchfulness and guidance should still be needed, but that it is necessary is undeniable. This will change, but the change is likely to be a slow one."

The *Sunday Express* (December 1, 1957) wrote: "Of the hundreds of Rand non-Europeans who have appealed against their arbitrary classification as Natives by the Race Classification Board, 'fewer than a dozen' have not been successful. This was confirmed by a spokesman for the Population Register. Rand attorneys acting for non-Europeans in these appeals report also that their appeals are no longer being heard, but are merely being decided on affidavits lodged by the appellants. And in almost all cases the appellants have been successful. So the elaborate 'comb test' and other rituals carried out by officials at the Department of Native Affairs before declaring a person a Native have collapsed.

"Now a new procedure has been adopted that leaves lawyers puzzled. Many of the appellants have been told to report to the Race Classification

Board for 'reclassification'. Lawyers say that there is nothing in the Population Registration Act that provides for this. The Act laid down a process of appeals, first to an Appeal Board from the decision of the Race Classification Board, then to a Supreme Court from the Appeal Board.

"Lawyers see in the new procedure a complete admission that the drastic tests on the Rand last year were without legal foundation. At the same time two Supreme Court judgements put a new light on the matter. In one such judgement Mr. Justice Hiemstra, holding that the appellant was a Coloured, said that when the question of the colour of a man's skin and his position in society rested on the balance of probabilities, the onus was *not on him to prove his descent, but [on] the State to disprove it*: 'On a matter where his whole future way of life is at stake . . . it is unthinkable that the legislature of a free country intends to place such an onus on a subject'.

"But for every successful appeal, say lawyers, there are scores of little human tragedies where people classified as Natives have lost their right to appeal because of a technicality. Last June the Population Registration Act was amended to limit the lodging of appeals against a classification to thirty days. Many of the people affected were unaware of the amendment, and have now lost their chance. Advocates say there is no method of overcoming this and lodging a late appeal, although almost all Acts which administer a decision through some body other than a court provide for the lodging of a late appeal."

The compilation of the register began in May, 1951, and so far probably less than 5 per cent of the White population has been issued with identity cards. (*The Times*, January 4, 1958.)

Sir Laurence Olivier and Sir Adrian Boult have resigned as patrons of the South African International Arts League of Youth because the League has a colour bar. Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress and Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress, in a joint letter to Mr. Alan Paton, have expressed the thanks of the African and Indian people for the stand taken by Mr. Paton on the colour bar in the League.<sup>1</sup> (*The Times*, November 27; *Pretoria News*, November 29, 1957.)

Mr. Phil Levard, the producer, said that booking for the special performance for non-Europeans of *The Pajama Game* was proceeding at "quite a fair rate". The performance, which would be staged in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand, would be the only one for non-Whites; ticket prices were a third of those being charged at His Majesty's Theatre, from which non-Europeans were barred. African Consolidated Theatres had been forced to stage a performance for non-Europeans by Equity, the British actors' union, which had ruled that British artists might not sign contracts to perform in the Union unless non-Europeans were allowed to see them.<sup>2</sup> (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 10, 1958.)

*New Age* (December 26, 1957) reported that Mr. Alan Dobie, star of *Look Back in Anger*, said that non-Europeans would not see a performance of the play because it had been declared "unsuitable" by the Manager of the Johannesburg City Council's Native Affairs Department. Although he could not perform before non-White audiences, Mr. Dobie had attended a rehearsal by an African theatre group and listened to some of the Union of African Artists' musicians.

### Sport<sup>3</sup>

A firm decision that competition in sport between Whites and non-Whites would not be permitted under the auspices of the South African Olympic and Empire Games Council was taken by the Executive of the Council at a meeting held in November. All sports associations affiliated to the South African Olympic Council were to be informed of the decision.

The question of non-European participation in the Union's sport came up because of an application by the non-European Weight-lifting and Body-building Association for affiliation to the South African Weight-lifting Association. It was reported that the non-European weight-lifters had also applied to the British Empire and Commonwealth Games Council in England for affiliation. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 20, 1957.)

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 9, 1957) wrote: "It is repugnant to the spirit both of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games and of the Olympic Games that any person should be prevented from competing because of his colour or creed. In almost all countries national

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 3. <sup>3</sup>DIGEST IV, 6; V, 2-3.

sporting authorities have no bars on colour or creed today, and in Britain itself for many years all have competed together without real difficulties. It is most disappointing, therefore, to find that South Africans who are not white-skinned will be no more able to take part in next year's Empire Games at Cardiff (home town of some most distinguished Coloured sportsmen) than they were to compete in last year's Olympic Games at Melbourne. The trouble is that the two games authorities do not wish to be thought to be interfering with any member's internal political affairs, and will deal only with the national Empire Games and Olympic Associations. In South Africa this body has a colour bar and will not recognize, to take a topical example, the South African Amateur Weight-lifting Federation, which has none. So the Federation can obtain neither recognition at home nor a hearing abroad. Its recent plea for admission to Cardiff was simply referred back to a body which does not recognize it. This is an intolerable situation, but it is not one which is likely to last long in the modern world. Once they fully appreciate the position, a large majority of the members of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games Federation and of the International Olympic Committee may well wish to have it made a condition for recognizing a national association that the latter body does not have any bars on colour or creed. The present South African Association will then have to face the alternatives of changing its rules or being expelled and replaced by a body with more liberal ideas."

A resolution was passed at the Natal Indian Congress expressing the belief that "the time has now arrived to consider whether democratic South Africa should not issue a world-wide appeal for an international boycott of South Africa in the fields of sport and culture". (*Star*, November 26, 1957.)

*Pretoria News* (November 22, 1957) wrote: "The annual cricket tournament between teams representing South African Indians, Bantu, Coloureds and Malays will be held in Cape Town on January 25. This will probably be the last time the tournament will be held on these lines, for it is the intention of the South African (Non-European) Cricket Board of Control to change from a group basis to provincial teams. . . . The best available players, whether they are Bantu, Indian, Coloured, or Malay will be chosen to represent each province."

## Human Rights Day

One hundred and twenty-three world leaders from thirty-eight nations signed a "Declaration of Conscience", "appealing to the peoples of the free world" to join in a day of protest on December 10—Human Rights Day—against South Africa's *apartheid* policy.

In its preamble, the Declaration of Conscience stated: "Freedom and human dignity are in grave jeopardy today in South Africa, whose Government continues to extend relentlessly its racial policy of *apartheid* into the economic, educational, religious and other areas of human life. The countless indignities inflicted on millions of South African people represent a long and tragic reversal of freedom."

The International Committee on the Declaration of Conscience—which was initiated by an organization called the American Committee on Africa—is headed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Signatories included Martin Buber, K. A. Busia, Salvador de Madariaga, Patrick Duncan, W. M. Chirwa, J. B. Danquah, the Bishop of Manchester, Aldous Huxley, C. G. Jung, Trygve Lie, Reinhold Niebuhr, Martin Niemöller, the Very Rev. James Pike, Bertrand Russell, Arnold Toynbee, and Bruno Walter.

In Pretoria twelve women stood outside the Department of Native Affairs building in silent protest, carrying anti-*apartheid* posters. In Johannesburg, members of the special branch of the Criminal Investigation Department stood by while the Declaration of Conscience was read in English and Afrikaans in the presence of several hundred people of all races. The Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev. Ambrose Reeves, and Senator W. G. Ballinger, who represents Transvaal Africans, were among those who attended. The Bishop is chairman of the Civil Rights Committee, which organized the protest in the city. In Cape Town, nearly 400 people of all races gathered outside St. George's Cathedral in support of the Declaration. In Port Elizabeth, members of the African National Congress observed Human Rights Day with a protest against the *apartheid* policy of the Government.

The South African consulate in New York was picketed for two hours by demonstrators organized by the American Committee on Africa. Pickets carried placards reading "Fight Racialism in South Africa" and "Today is Human Rights Day—How about Human Rights in South Africa?" Participating in the picket line was a contingent from a Yale University band which was scheduled to tour South Africa last year. This band was not permitted to visit the Union because it wanted to play for non-White audiences. (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 11, 1957.)

Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of External Affairs, in a broadcast reply to the "Declaration of Conscience", said that it had tried to substantiate the "irresponsible and, indeed, ridiculous charge that 'totalitarianism increasingly grips almost every area of human activity in South Africa'."

Mr. Louw said these allegations were made in the Declaration:

"(1) South Africa has denied to many of its leading citizens the right to leave the country." Mr. Louw's answer: "It is accepted practice in all modern countries to refuse passports. How many have, for very good reasons, been refused by the United States State Department in the past ten years?"

"(2) Four-fifths of South Africa's citizens have forcibly been denied participation in the Government." Mr. Louw's answer: "This means the Declaration's signatories would give a parliamentary vote to 'all the uncivilized Native Africans'. The fact that Natives with the necessary qualifications voted for candidates specially to represent their interests in Parliament has been suppressed."

"(3) The South African Government has forbidden people of different colours to worship together." Mr. Louw's answer: "There is nothing whatever to prevent any non-White person from worshipping in St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, or in any other church generally attended by Whites. The so-called 'Church Clause' deals only with the special case where Natives who have their own church in a particular locality proceed in increasing numbers to attend services in a church ordinarily used by Whites, and when it is clear that this is being done by way of demonstration, thereby causing racial tension and trouble in that locality."

"(4) Freedom of speech is denied to non-White leaders." Mr. Louw's answer: "There is complete freedom of speech and expression of opinion for all in South Africa on the same conditions as in other countries—that there is no abuse for subversive or treasonable purposes. Communist propaganda is not allowed."

"(5) South Africa represses human freedom and should grant democratic equality for all non-Whites." Mr. Louw's answer: "In other African territories, in accordance with the principles of trusteeship and in the interests of the largely uncivilized populations, it has been found impossible to grant democratic equality."

"(6) South Africa should honour its moral obligations to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights." Mr. Louw's answer: "South Africa did not sign the Declaration of Human Rights, which takes no account of those measures of control which all governments find necessary to impose in the interests of general welfare and good government."

Mr. Louw said the Declaration of Conscience gave no credit for the fact that the South African Government spent considerably more per head of Black population on social and medical services, housing and education for Natives than any independent state or other territory in Africa. "If the Natives of South Africa are being 'repressed' and 'oppressed' as alleged, why then are we having to cope with the problem of thousands of Natives illegally entering the country every year from the territories to the north and refusing to return to their own territories and having to be deported?" (*Rand Daily Mail*, December 13, 1957.)

Mr. Louw said that it was as well that "we in South Africa, and also our neighbours, and the Governments which [were] responsible for the territories in Central and East Africa, should know what forces [were] being mobilized against the European populations of the continent". They should also realize that these forces, led by "leftist and ultra-liberalistic organizations", were marching under the banner of "morality", "human dignity", "democracy", "equality", "freedom", and also of "religion". The Declaration of Conscience attacked South Africa on the grounds of alleged suppression of human freedoms and the demand was made for democratic equality for all non-Europeans. There was little doubt that the leftists and ultra-liberalists of the American Committee on Africa had



taken note that South Africa since the Second World War had become the focus of an international propaganda campaign and were making capital of it. Mr. Louw said that he could not understand how this anti-White campaign could be supported by South Africans. There seemed little doubt that Bishop Reeves had contributed to the launching of the campaign. Mr. Alan Paton had been directly responsible for it. A letter from the offices of the American Committee on Africa had reported Mr. Paton as urging the American people to speak out against "this invasion of dignity and conscience".

Other members of the sponsoring committee mentioned by Mr. Louw were: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who was "not a stranger in American left-wing circles", the Vice-President of Korea, "the country which, with the assistance of South African airmen, was saved from Communist aggression", and two prominent Hungarian exiles, who were in this way "thanking" the Government and people of South Africa for giving 1,300 Hungarian refugees a home. Some of the leading members of the American Committee on Africa were associated with left-wing organizations, and Mr. George Houser, a known leftist, was executive secretary of the Committee and of the South African Defence Fund, "which [collected] funds for the accused in the treason trial". (*Die Vaderland, Rand Daily Mail*, December 13, 1957.)

The Rev. George Houser said that the American Committee was composed of Republicans, Democrats and Independents. "It reflects the sentiment of the majority of the American people both in its opposition to racism and colonialism in all forms and in its support for the legitimate, democratic independence movements throughout Africa. The South African Government apparently equates all efforts on behalf of African freedom and equality with left-wing activity. This merely illustrates the depth of the *apartheid* malady in the minds of the White South African rulers."

The Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, the Bishop of Johannesburg, said that those who had heard the Minister's broadcast would do well to recognize that it was the present Government of South Africa that was being criticized and not the White population as such. The Bishop said one could only hope that as the S.A.B.C. had given facilities to the Minister to broadcast such a controversial statement, containing so many assertions and accusations, equal opportunity would be given to the supporters of the Declaration of Conscience to state their views to listeners. (*Pretoria News*, December 14, 1957.)

Cape representatives of the South African Liberal Party sent a telegram to the S.A.B.C. asking for an opportunity to broadcast a reply to Mr. Louw.

## SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

### Membership of U.N. Committee

THE Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly elected Uruguay, Egypt, and Indonesia as members of its Special Committee on South-West Africa for three-year terms beginning on January 1, 1958. Uruguay was re-elected for the second term, Egypt and Indonesia will replace Syria and Thailand. Other members of the Special Committee are Brazil, Ethiopia, Finland, Mexico, Pakistan and the United States. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, December 3, 1957.)

### Good Offices Committee<sup>1</sup>

Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, who was the first Governor-General of Ghana, has been appointed to represent the United Kingdom on the U.N. Good Offices Committee on South-West Africa. Mr. Walter M. Walmsley of the Bureau of International Organization Affairs in Washington will represent the U.S.A. and the Brazilian representative is Mr. Leitas Da Cunha, who has held ministerial office in Brazil and served on the delegation to the first and sixth sessions of the U.N. General Assembly.

Mr. Eric Louw, South African Minister of External Affairs, commenting on the action of the U.N. in appointing a Good Offices Committee said: "The most I can say is that the Union Government will study any approach made by the Committee but on the clear understanding this

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

will be without prejudice to the attitude which South Africa has consistently taken up in regard to the juridical position of South-West Africa." (*Windhoek Advertiser*, November 8, 1958.)

### Objection to Land Proposals

In a letter to the South-West African Native Affairs Department, the Union Minister of Native Affairs and to the United Nations, Chief Hosea Kutako objected to a proposal by the Executive Committee of South-West Africa to give out border farms in the Aminuis Reserve to White farmers.<sup>1</sup> The proposed farms are situated in the Aminuis "corridor" on the border between South-West and Bechuanaland. The "corridor" is about forty-seven miles long and comprises 163,000 hectares of land. This protest is substantiated by the fact that in the Annual Report for 1933 the then Administrator, Mr. Conradie, said: "You have a very big Reserve in Aminuis—543,000 hectares of land, equal to fifty to sixty ordinary farms. At first only 230,000 hectares were set aside as a Native reserve but when Hosea and his people went out to this Reserve the area was increased to 543,000. Again, when the Hereros from Rehoboth were sent there the Native Commissioner made representations for additional land to be added to Aminuis and the late Administrator agreed that all the country between the eastern side of the Reserve and the border of Bechuanaland should be included in the Reserve—approximately 163,000 hectares. This, however, has not been actually proclaimed as it was not considered necessary to do so until water had been opened up and the ground was actually used by the people. You therefore have a big enough country to accommodate your children and your children's children if you can only develop it and improve it as you ought to. . . ."

The *Windhoek Advertiser* (November 22, 1957) said: "The 'corridor' of farms were intended to serve as a buffer strip between South-West and Bechuanaland to counter cattle smuggling and prevent foot-and-mouth disease from crossing the border."

### Passport Refused<sup>2</sup>

The South African Government has refused a passport to a Herero, Fanuel Jarietundu Kozonguizi, who sought to attend a sitting of the United Nations Good Offices Commission dealing with the South African mandate over South-West Africa. Mr. Kozonguizi, who is a student at Cape Town, was invited by the Commission to put the Herero point of view. No reason has been given for the refusal of the passport.

Senator W. G. Ballinger, Natives' Representative in the Senate, said there could not be the slightest reason to doubt the integrity of all concerned in the passport application. "Mr. Kozonguizi is a genuine and able representative of Africans in South-West Africa," he said. (*Johannesburg Star*, November 30, 1957.)

### Diamond Case<sup>3</sup>

The application by the Consolidated Diamond Mines of South-West Africa was dismissed with costs by the High Court of South-West Africa.

### U.N.A. Resolution Adopted

The Council of the United Nations Association has passed a resolution in which it questions the United Kingdom Delegation's voting at the U.N. on South-West African issues. The resolution recalls that the International Court of Justice delivered its advisory opinion in favour of the admissibility of oral hearings of petitioners by the Special Committee on South-West Africa and notes "with some astonishment" that the U.K. delegation abstained from voting for the resolution by which sixty members of the Assembly accepted this advisory opinion.

The resolution also expressed the Association's regret at the continued opposition of H.M.G. to the U.N. playing any part in the situation arising from South Africa's Native policies, and requested the Government to show its good faith in the use of international machinery to which it was committed by:

- (a) accepting as sixty other states have done the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on South-West Africa, a territory still under mandate and subject to the supervision of the Assembly of the U.N.;

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 3. <sup>3</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

- (b) advocating the reference of the interpretation of Article 2 (7)<sup>1</sup> to the International Court for an advisory opinion on the competence of the U.N. to concern itself with the racial situation in South Africa.

# HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

## Basutoland

### Agriculture and Education

A SERIES of articles in the *Johannesburg Star* (November 26-28, 1957) entitled "Basutoland To-day" said that one of the most important jobs from an agricultural point of view was to improve the strain of Basuto stock. High on the list was bettering the wool clip which is the country's principal export amounting to £1 million now.

Co-operatives play their part in the country's agriculture and have a turnover of more than £2 million a year. One of the features of agricultural activity is a 62-square-mile area in the Tebetebeng Valley where a community development project has begun with the construction of roads and dams where co-operative group farms have been established.

It is of interest that no one has freehold ownership of land. There are thus no farmers in the sense in which most Western countries accept the word. The land belongs to the nation and it is parcelled out by chiefs and headmen to individuals for farming.

Education is one of the main planks in the efforts to improve farming methods. . . . It is surprising to note that there are more girls than boys in primary schools—the figures are nearly 70,000 girls as against nearly 40,000 boys. The discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that boys are entrusted with the care of the flocks and herds. . . .

The Basuto are desperately keen to be educated, and the country has the highest percentage of children in school of any African territory. Altogether there are 957 primary schools, seventeen secondary schools and seven teacher training schools. Of these only ten primary schools are run by committees; the rest are mission schools. The missions have borne much of the burden of education in Basutoland. Most of them receive Government grants which amount to £259,000 a year. These grants are intended to cover the cost of salaries and some equipment. The missions have to finance their own building schemes, though considerable grants are made from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. The standard of education is becoming better every year, and the qualifications for entry into the Civil Service are being raised. It is expected that soon a Matriculation certificate will be the minimum requirement, and later on a university degree may be necessary for many posts.

The majority of the population are Christian as a result of the missionary influence in education. The number of children in secondary schools is not large, being about 1,270. Here the proportion of girls to boys is reversed and there are nearly twice as many boys as girls in the higher standards.

Pope Pius XII College at Roma, which offers courses for degrees in Arts, Science, Commerce and Education, will have to play an even more important role in the future than it has in the past because of the attitude of the South African Government regarding students from territories outside the Union. The ban on entry on non-White students from outside the Union has been relaxed until 1958. The relaxation of the ban applies only to students attending the University College of Fort Hare and the Medical School of the University of Natal. The relaxation is merely token, however, for the students no longer receive the subsidy which Union students receive and have to pay the full cost of their education to which is added £30 as a contribution towards capital costs.

The cost to students from Basutoland was trebled by this action and it costs them £272 a year to attend Fort Hare and £600 to go to Natal. The

<sup>1</sup>This states that nothing in the Charter authorizes the U.N. to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

Basutoland Government award bursaries to cover these full costs. The Pius XII College is maintained entirely by a Catholic missionary order.

### Students in Britain

Fourteen Basuto students are at present studying in the United Kingdom. Six government scholarships were granted to Basutos in 1955, six in 1956, and two in 1957. Other scholarships were provided by the British Council, the Basuto National Treasury and the Sethabathaba Fund.

## Bechuanaland

### Advisory Councils

PROGRESS in the establishment of tribal and area advisory councils in the Bamangwato Reserve was described in the House of Commons by Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who said: "In 1954 it was agreed that the Government should initiate and encourage the development of more representative institutions in tribal territories in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In 1955 proposals for the formation of councils in the Bamangwato tribal area were discussed in Serowe, and about a year ago a committee of nine Africans, including Seretse Khama and Tshekedi Khama and two European officials was set up to make recommendations for the constitution of Bamangwato tribal and area councils with advisory functions. The committee's recommendations were accepted by the African Advisory Council. The African authority of the Bamangwato, Rasebolai Kgamane, with Seretse Khama and Tshekedi Khama, accompanied by an administrative officer, then toured the main centres in the Bamangwato Reserve, explaining the committee's proposals, and the tribe accepted them.

"The chairman of the Bamangwato tribal council is to be the African authority; the chairman of each area council is to be the subordinate African authority of that area. One-quarter of the members of the tribal council are to be nominated by the chairman and the remainder are to be elected by the area council. One-quarter of the members of each area council are nominated by that council's chairman and the remainder will be chosen by the people in the traditional way, by *kgotla*.

"The tribal council and the area councils will advise the African authority and the subordinate African authorities, respectively. The High Commissioner has made an enabling proclamation to place on a statutory basis tribal and area councils throughout the Protectorate."

### Rapid Development

Extensive building activity, both Government and private, has been in progress for the past year, the rapid growth of amenities and communications here reflecting the faith of the inhabitants in the prosperous future of the country.

Guided by Government experts much has been done by the enlightened leadership of the tribal chiefs themselves. The standard of living of the indigenous African, including hospitalization and education, compares favourably with that prevailing in South Africa. Indeed, it is steadily improving in spite of the vast distances and desert nature of the larger part of the territory.

Although it is essentially cattle country, the land is rich in mineral deposits, waiting only for suitable communications and power for exploitation. During the past year Lobatsi alone has seen the completion and opening of the new High Court, headquarters of the Geological Survey Department, African teacher's training college, new police post, numerous Government and private dwellings, and extensive alterations and additions to the local hotel and department store. Buildings now under erection include a pupils' hostel for the European high school, and a wing for the Moffat Hospital at Kanye, and projected schemes for the new year include a T.B. wing at Athlone Hospital in Lobatsi, a new post office and a central telephone and telegraph exchange. The Government has given a housing contract for dwellings in several of the main centres at a cost of £130,000. (*Johannesburg Star*, December 20, 1957.)

# WEST AFRICA

## Ghana

### Prime Minister's Review of 1957

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, the Prime Minister, took stock of Ghana's achievements in the past year in a broadcast on Christmas Eve. The year 1957, he said, was now written into the history of Ghana for all time as the year of freedom and of independence. Apart from that, it had been a year full of momentous events, and for a large part of it, the attention of the outside world had been focused on Ghana's internal affairs. "We have been congratulated and we have been criticized. But I am sure that time will put events into their proper perspective and history will justify the actions which we took. I am sure that you will agree with me that most of our memories of 1957 will be happy ones," said Dr. Nkrumah.

"My first objective," he continued, "is to abolish from Ghana poverty, ignorance and disease. We shall measure our progress by the improvement in the health of our people; by the number of children in school and by the quality of their education; by the availability of water and electricity in our towns and villages; and by the happiness which our people take in being able to manage their own affairs. The welfare of our people is our chief pride, and it is by this that my Government will ask to be judged."

"At the present stage of Ghana's economic development the whole community must act in the national interest. In fact most of our major development so far has had to be carried out by the Government itself. There is no other way out, for our people lack the capital and technical know-how to embark on great industrial undertakings. We cannot agree with those who say that such State participation is a denial of democracy. We have only to look at Sweden, Britain, Australia and many other countries to prove such a statement to be false. For our own part we are sure that, hand in hand with political and economic democracy, there will be plenty of scope for free enterprise to flourish throughout Ghana. Again and again I have emphasized that we welcome foreign investment and will protect it."

"Christmas is a time when we naturally renew the source of our spiritual faith. Perhaps now more than ever before we would do well to turn our minds again to the teachings of Christ based upon love and forgiveness of one's enemies. It is my firm conviction that in a world divided into ideological blocks, feverishly arming for mutual annihilation with atomic and hydrogen bombs and inter-continental missiles, this is the only hope for mankind. It is certainly a world far removed from the conditions which could be achieved by following the teachings of Christ." (*Ghana To-day*, January 8, 1958.)

### Comment in Britain

In a series of articles entitled "Ghana Revisited" a special correspondent of *The Times* (December 16-18, 1957) claimed that, while there had been many external changes since independence, things had changed comparatively little beneath the surface. He said: "The Convention Peoples Party remains firmly in the saddle . . . a real split can hardly occur so long as the central caucus holds together. Besides the Prime Minister, this group consists of Mr. Gbedemah (Finance), Mr. Kojo Botsio (Minister of State), Mr. Krobo Edusei (Interior), and Mr. Kofi Baako (Information and Broadcasting) . . . Mr. Gbedemah might be described as a man who is determined to 'gang his own gait' . . . but so long as he is not unduly interfered with his general loyalty to the Party appears unquestioned. . . ." Mr. Krobo Edusei's public statements were outrageous, but there were several reasons for Dr. Nkrumah's recalling him after the Braimah inquiry. "He is quick, effective and efficient . . . secondly, he is an Ashanti man, understands the Ashanti and is understood by them. . . . Mr. Edusei has certainly done what he was appointed to do in the field of public security—at immense cost to Ghana's reputation abroad. . . ."

The correspondent continued that to appreciate the nature, and the strength, of the Opposition it was necessary to go outside Accra. In spite of political and parliamentary weaknesses the Opposition could not be

discounted, for it represented powerful forces in the country. The C.P.P.'s greatest handicap had been failure to capture the sympathy of the Ghanaian middle classes. The other "leg" of the Opposition was in the bush. The most clear-cut disagreement point between the parties was over the chiefs. "How does the present Ghana Government view the future of the districts? . . . Perhaps the most significant pointer in recent months is the appointment of political regional commissioners to the six regions into which Ghana is divided. The duties of these commissioners is ill-defined at the moment. Obviously, however, their presence opens the way to simultaneously strengthening and bringing under control the old, and now half-Africanized, network of district administration through Government agents. In other words, it could portend an attempt at centralized, bureaucratic administration as an alternative to rule either by the chiefs or by local councils."

Finally, Ghana had to find her place in international politics "She is putting out feelers all round. Apart from her links with Britain, America and India, she has especially close ties with the German Federal Republic and with Israel. . . . There is no doubt that Ghana would accept Russian aid for the Volta and other economic projects provided Russia was prepared to put up the money and others were not. . . . Ghana needs foreign investment, and, on grounds of sympathy, mutual interest and common sense, Britain ought to make efforts to meet these needs on their merits. But to get involved in a competitive struggle with Russia at this stage would only arouse Ghanaian suspicions and might end by precipitating the very result which it is desired to avoid."

Colin Legum writing in the *Observer* (November 24, 1957) said: "Unfortunately, independence coincided with a serious drop in the world price of cocoa, on which the country depends for most of its wealth. So far from being able to fulfil the over-lavish promises that had sustained the independence movement, the first 'freedom' budget introduced in May was dampeningly austere. Ministers took to their soapboxes to warn the people that demands for higher wages were unpatriotic. The result was frustration and disillusionment. Tribal and other pressure groups sought to redress their grievances or to obtain sectional advantages by pillorying the Government. They questioned its authority and misjudged its capacity to withstand vigorous onslaughts. . . ."

"The Colvine and Shawcross affair<sup>1</sup> came in the middle of this anxious internal struggle. Rightly or wrongly they were adjudged to be foreigners who had become embroiled in an angry domestic quarrel. That explains why the action taken against them took so little account of world opinion. That affair was an incident in the crisis and not the cause of it. Dr. Nkrumah's success in bringing his party through the crisis intact is a tremendous tribute to his capacity for leadership. . . ."

"Suggestions that the Government has established its authority by turning Ghana into an authoritarian State are entirely misleading. Aspects of its policy, and some of its methods, are open to serious criticism. But one is in danger of missing the real issue if one overlooks the fact that this criticism is vigorously expressed by Ghanaians themselves."

"Even within the C.P.P. criticism is rampant. The most trenchant daily paper is anti-Government. And for the first time the Opposition groups are beginning to shape themselves into a united party that in time may be able to offer itself as an alternative Government. . . ."

"In fairness, it must be recalled that in the recent Budget debate the severest critics of this state of affairs were to be found among the Government's own supporters. Once the Government is able to lift its eyes from the task of securing its own survival it is likely in its own interests to give priority to its economic programme. Fortunately the old-established commercial firms retain their confidence in the future of Ghana."

"It would be foolish to suppose that there will be no further crises in Ghana. And the next one may be worse than the last one. But the shock of the first crisis is somehow the worst for a newly independent country. Not only does it wound the fledgling's *amour propre* but it shakes its self-confidence for a time. There are signs, however, that the traditional ebullience of Ghana, and its capacity to laugh at its own difficulties, will leave the country with relatively few unhealed wounds by the time the next crisis comes around."

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 2.



## The Emergency Powers Act<sup>1</sup>

After a stormy debate the Bill giving the Governor-General power to declare national, local or limited states of emergency passed its third reading on December 12 and subsequently became law.

The Opposition provoked a series of division on clauses of the Bill during the committee stage. Moving the amendments Mr. M. K. Apaloo (United Party) said that they were being pressed "to protect the liberty of the subject". All the amendments were defeated.

A local state of emergency was declared in Kumasi, capital of Ashanti, on December 30. The Ministry of the Interior said the emergency was declared because of the situation that had arisen over the choice of the Zerikin Zongo (spiritual head of the Muslim community). Tension between rival Muslim factions threatened a serious breach of the peace. This is the first such declaration to be issued under the Emergency Powers Act.

*The Times* (January 1, 1958) commented: "The declaration of this state of emergency gives the Government wide powers in Kumasi, including the exclusion of individuals from the area and their subsequent detention. The Act says, however, that regulations made for a local emergency must be laid before the National Assembly. . . .

"The Muslims in Kumasi are, of course, a minority, mostly of foreign extraction. They have for long been a turbulent element. The colonial Government preferred to deal with their turbulence by police action when the occasion arose. The Ghana Government has resorted to deportation and now to the declaration of a local emergency. Certainly such action may seem excessive in relation to the scale of the threatened disturbances. On the other hand it must be admitted that lawlessness in Kumasi had gone on too long. . . .

"The Opposition, however, are not really worried about these petty inter-Muslim disputes. They are worried that, having once declared the emergency, the Government may put it to other uses, such as removing and detaining Opposition leaders and chiefs. By declaring a state of emergency in Kumasi itself, Dr. Nkrumah has pointed a finger at the heart of Ashanti, for in Kumasi resides the Asantehene, the head of the Ashanti nation and the guardian of the Golden Stool. It is not to be supposed that in declaring this emergency Dr. Nkrumah was ignorant of the implications of his action and the fears which it would arouse."

## The Government and the Chiefs

Following on the withdrawal of recognition from Nana Ofori Atta II, Paramount Chief of Akim Abuakwa, the Government appointed a commission under a former Judge, Mr. John Jackson, to inquire into the alleged maladministration of the Akim Abuakwa State. *The Times* (November 11, 1957) reported that the Okyenene (the Paramount Chief) had said that the only way in which the Government's withdrawal of recognition affected him was that he could not sit on the joint provincial council. This is an advisory body consisting of the chiefs in southern Ghana. If, a second chamber were ever established, then he would be debarred from sitting in the House of Chiefs.

The Okyenene was at one time in the Legislative Assembly. Other prominent members of the family include Dr. J. B. Danquah and Mr. William Ofori Atta. When the nationalist movement split they came into conflict with the radical wing constituted by the C.P.P. At the same time, one member of the family, Mr. Aaron Ofori Atta, is now Minister of Local Government in the present C.P.P. Government.

Although the Okyenene's personal prestige is strong in the area, all five constituencies returned C.P.P. members at the last election. The move against the Okyenene may also be seen as the first step in a more extensive operation. He is the most powerful chief in the territory south of the Ashanti border. In this southern area the chieftaincy generally is very weak. The position is quite different in Ashanti, where the chiefs are strongly grouped round the Asantehene. If the Okyenene could be isolated and removed, then an important breach would have been made in the whole system of defence of the chiefs.

## Three New Bills

Uproar greeted the second reading of a Bill empowering the Government to seize the stool and other paraphernalia of any destooled chief.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

The Opposition, led by Dr. Busia, raised strong objection to the second reading on the ground that Section 35 of the Constitution provided that Bills affecting the position of traditional rulers should always be referred to the Houses of the Chiefs after the first reading before being returned for second reading and passage into law. The Speaker adjourned the sitting. On the resumption, Dr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister, submitted that the Bill was not a new one but an extension of already existing legislation. The function of interpreting the Constitution was the duty of the courts and not of the Speaker and "as long as the Houses of the Chiefs do not exist, the Government has every right to legislate in the interest of the chiefs".

The Speaker, Mr. A. M. Akiwumi, said: "The legal validity of an act of Parliament can only be tested in the competent court of law." His ruling was followed by uproar and the exchange of abuse among M.P.s. Dr. Busia immediately announced that he would introduce a special motion later to challenge the Speaker's ruling. (*Manchester Guardian*, December 14 and 19, 1957.)

In a debate on the Avoidance of Discrimination Bill, the Opposition expressed their fear that the Bill was designed to give to the Government full dictatorial powers which would allow no recourse to the courts. The Bill deals with the control of political parties based on tribal or religious affiliations.

Mr. Aaron Ofori Atta, moving the second reading of the Bill, quoted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and said that the purpose of the Bill was to provide protection against attempts to interfere with the rights of freedom of religion and of peaceful association. Dr. Busia, Leader of the Opposition, said that the Bill gave evidence of authoritarian, even dictatorial, tendencies and sought to do the opposite of what it professed.

Mr. Braimah, another Opposition speaker, said the Government was seeking authority from Parliament to trample on the fundamental rights of the people. He also said that Clause II of the Bill, which provides that no prosecution under the Act should take place without the written authority of the Attorney-General, would make it difficult to take proceedings against certain members of the community. This was a sure sign that members of the C.P.P. (Government Party) would be protected by the Bill.

Mr. K. Edusei, Minister of the Interior, speaking in support of the Bill, referred to provisions in the Bill dealing with party symbols, he recalled the last general election when, he said, Opposition parties played politics with the Golden Stool (symbol of the Ashanti nation) and with cocoa by using them as their symbols. He said: "As soon as the Golden Stool is put into politics the Ashanti nation is exposed to ridicule, and as a sword bearer to the Golden Stool I will not allow such a thing." (*The Times*, December 11, 1957.)

Mr. Krobo Edusei has announced that he hopes to introduce a "Preventive Detention Bill," empowering the Government to imprison, without trial, any person suspected of activities prejudicial to the security of the State.

Mr. Kofi Baako, Minister of Information, said that so far Mr. Edusei had not outlined to the Cabinet his ideas on the new Bill. He added: "Mr. Edusei is entitled to have his own ideas as Minister of the Interior. The main thing is that he is anxious to maintain law and order in Ghana, and in that intention he has the full backing of the Cabinet. The Cabinet will be quite prepared to consider his proposals." (*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1957.)

## U.N. Technical Assistance Representative

The U.N. Technical Assistance Board has established a field office in Ghana. Mr. Wilfrid Benson has been appointed to the post. Mr. Benson, a national of the United Kingdom has been an International Civil Servant since 1921, when he joined the International Labour Office in Geneva. He remained on the staff of the I.L.O. until 1945, becoming Chief of the Dependent Territories Service and I.L.O. Counsellor. In 1946, Mr. Benson joined the United Nations Secretariat and was appointed Director in the Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. (*U.N. Press Release*, December 3, 1957.)

# Nigeria

## Need for National Unity

THE Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, in a New Year broadcast said: "In the short time now remaining before independence, much requires to be done, and there are now three Commissions at work in Nigeria helping to solve some of the problems. . . . There are immense opportunities for disagreement between the political parties when the reports of these Commissions come before a resumed Constitutional Conference and it is my sincere hope that the spirit of unity which has been growing up in the country and which was so evident before the last Conference should not be impaired now by unnecessary party squabbling and friction. . . . The National leaders are able to see beyond the details and adopt statesmanlike approaches to the main problems, but it is the smaller men who vitiate the atmosphere and encourage hatred instead of friendship, and quarrelling instead of co-operation. Sometimes the newspapers too seem to report these bickerings too fully, instead of ignoring them and concentrating upon spreading an attitude of mutual trust and confidence. The Prime Minister gave us all a fine example of working for unity when he formed an all-party Council of Ministers to steer the Federation through this last constitutional stage."

The Prime Minister, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, also stressed the need for national unity and spoke of Nigeria's determination to achieve independence in 1960. (*News from Nigeria*, January 1, 1958.)

Russell Howe, in an article in the *Sunday Times* (December 8, 1957) said: "With the lion's share of Nigeria's natural resources—minerals, cocoa, rubber, timber, palm-oil and fruit—and the highest level of education anywhere on the continent, Western Nigeria is also the most homogeneous and united region in the country. . . . In this respect it does not typify in the way the East does the basic difficulty posed by the building of a Nigerian nation, the problems of political, economic and cultural integration in a country once divided into many kingdoms each with its own system of ethics, law and government. The very concept of an African nation composed of nearly one-fifth of the continent's population would have been almost unthinkable twenty years ago. From this basic problem springs the necessary evil of Nigeria's costly federal set-up. The Nigerian Constitution is based, like the Caribbean Federation's, on Australia's; it leaves the centre too weak in this critical early period when far-reaching changes are being made. This weakness, with its inevitable encouragement to State-loyalty rather than to nation-mindedness, tends to defeat the making of a nation out of Nigeria. . . ."

## The Minorities Commission

A correspondent writing in the *New Commonwealth* (January 6, 1958) described the problems and fears of minorities as presenting the greatest issue affecting the constitutional development of Nigeria.

No one expected the Minorities Commission, under Sir Henry Willink, Q.C., to have an easy passage. That was clear from the fact that certain groups had gone to the extent of briefing eminent Queen's Counsel to state their case before the Commission. But the effort to keep the purpose of the Commission as clear as possible from political and tribal complications seemed to be frustrated from the day of its first sitting at Ibadan, so that it found itself at first doing little more than mark time while representations were made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies concerning the admissibility of evidence from the N.C.N.C. as a minority political party in the West, and the question of privilege of evidence and statements before the Commission.

It was made clear at the outset that submissions to the Commission would not be considered privileged and in such circumstances it was plain that any evidence might, in certain circumstances, be actionable in the courts of law. In view of this there was a reluctance among those who had already intimated their intention to give evidence to come forward until the point was cleared up.

The appearance of a political group—as a political group without ethnic affiliations—was something not anticipated when it was decided to set up a commission. From the outset it was understood to be the problems

of minority ethnic groups with which the Willink Commission was concerned. Sir Henry Willink made the point clear at a Press Conference in Lagos a day or two before the first sitting of the Commission opened in Ibadan. In view of this it was surprising that the Chairman gave a ruling that the case of the N.C.N.C. Opposition should be presented as that of a minority political party. The Western Regional Government's rejection of this ruling and refusal to take part in the inquiry followed almost automatically, since it was obvious that it would be used as a platform for attack on the Government.

The N.C.N.C. Government of the East strongly supports the claims for the creation of the Mid-West State, carved out of the Action Group's Western Region, but resists strongly the idea of a Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers State carved out of Eastern Nigeria. Similarly the North rejects the idea of a Middle Belt State or of the cession of parts of Ilorin to the West, but would not mind one bit if the West and East Regions were to be subdivided.

## Self-Government Proposed for Northern Region

A proposal that self-government for the Northern Region be declared on March 15, 1959, was passed by the Northern People's Congress, the Government party of the Region. The convention decided to recommend that the Federal territory of Lagos be extended to Otta, in Western Nigeria, and that Oshogbo and Oyo, now both in Western Nigeria, should be returned to the North. It said it would vehemently oppose any further fragmentation of the North. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 15, 1958.)

## Trade Survey

"Economic and Commercial Conditions in Nigeria", a survey prepared by the United Kingdom Trade Commissioners in Lagos, describes Nigeria's development plans and gives information about other aspects of Nigeria's economy. It is stated that Britain is Nigeria's best customer and principal supplier, but the growing purchasing power of her people and industrial expansion are attracting foreign traders in ever-increasing numbers.

Current public and private development plans are expected to maintain a strong demand for constructional material in particular, such as building materials and components, structural iron and steel parts, pipes, tubes, fittings and hand tools. Extensions to the road system of the country have brought about a greatly increased use of road transport, but there is an intense competition in the motor vehicle market, especially from Western Germany. Cycles and powered cycles are wanted in increasing numbers.

The survey also discusses the local market, and points out that a considerable and increasing number of African concerns engage in import trade, placing their orders in some cases directly with manufacturers but more often through the intermediary of confirming houses. There is little doubt, it concludes, that Nigerian firms and individuals will make an increasingly important contribution to the import trade as their operations grow. (*West Africa*, December 28, 1957.)

## Relations with the Sudan

The Prime Minister of the Sudan, Sayed Abdullah Khalil, has made an eight-day visit to Nigeria. Giving his impressions of Nigeria, Sayed Abdullah said that "the country is taking firm and steady steps in preparation for independence. What has struck me most is the great similarity between the Sudan and Nigeria." He praised the administrative system in Northern Nigeria and finally said: "I wish to thank the Nigerian people and the Government of the Federation for the kind reception and cordial hospitality during the tour. We are also grateful for co-operation in arranging to discuss and understand some of the interesting Nigerian problems. In the Sudan we feel we have some obligation towards Nigeria."

Officials of the Nigerian Railway Corporation have visited Khartoum, capital of the Sudan, to discuss a proposal to construct a railway link between Nigeria and the Sudan, crossing French territory.

The Commercial Editor of *West Africa* (December 21, 1957) commented: "The idea of a railway link between Nigeria and the Sudan has gained considerable prominence since the arrival in Nigeria of an International Bank mission which is examining Nigeria's application for a loan to meet part of the cost of extending the existing railway by 400 miles to Maiduguri. . . ."

"Actually, although considerable publicity has been given to this projected Nigeria-Sudan rail link, it is hard to know whether such a project should really be taken seriously. . . . The attraction of the East-West link seems to have been seen partly in strategic terms. It might, for example, make it possible to transport goods from Nigerian ports to Port Sudan, thus obviating the need either to use the Suez Canal, or to sail right round the Cape. There is, too, in the proposed link, a very definite emotional appeal to some in Northern Nigeria, which could, if the link existed, turn its back on Southern Nigeria, and use the Moslem Sudan as its transport link with the coast."

### University College Reopened

The University College of Ibadan has resumed classes after being closed for two months because students pulled down fences which they said had been built to cage them "like animals". Dr. J. H. Parry, the principal, told nearly 700 students that as far as he was concerned the episode was ended. No doubt the events had harmed the reputation of the University. He said it was idle to suppose that the governing body of a university could be induced to change its mind by agitation. (*Manchester Guardian*, January 10, 1958.)

### Passport Refusal

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 28, 1957) described as "probably the most forthright disavowal of Communism ever to come out of West Africa", the Prime Minister's statement giving reasons for the refusal of a passport to Mrs. K. Ransome-Kuti, President-General of the Nigerian Women's Union.

In a letter to Mrs. Ransome-Kuti the Prime Minister said: "I must tell you quite clearly that I and my colleagues are determined that while we are responsible for the government of the Federation of Nigeria and for the welfare of its people we shall use every means in our power to prevent the infiltration of Communism and Communistic ideas into Nigeria. In order to carry out our policy we shall seek to prevent Nigerians from visiting Communist-controlled countries, especially if we have reason to believe that they are travelling for the purpose of indulging in Communist activities."

"In the past when it was thought that you might be the innocent victim of Communist schemes you were informed officially that the Women's International Democratic Federation was a Communist-controlled organization. Nevertheless you have recently given proof that you have severed your connexions with that Federation but have been willing to accept an air ticket enabling you to travel to East Berlin at a time when the movement was holding a meeting in that place."

"I myself am convinced that Communism is an evil thing and I have no sympathy for any Nigerian who knowingly or unknowingly allows herself to be used for spreading its doctrines."

## British Cameroons

### Background to Constitutional Change

ON the occasion of the third anniversary of the National Day, Mr. J. O. Field, Commissioner of the Cameroons, referred to constitutional changes which would be meaningless "unless the people of the Southern Cameroons are prepared to accept the enlarged responsibilities now falling upon them and to support loyally whatever government the electorate gives them".

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Government party, K.N.C. (Kamerun National Congress), Mr. Muna, the deputy leader, was removed from membership. Mr. Muna subsequently joined the Opposition (K.N.D.P.) party, thus giving it a majority of elected members. The K.N.C., however, retain a very precarious majority over all other parties through the nominated members. The situation was described as unworkable and the possibility of an alliance between the K.N.C. and K.P.P., another Opposition party, would not help much, as the K.P.P. has only two members in the present House of Assembly.

A correspondent in *West Africa* (December 14, 1957) sums up: "The hopes of a stable Cameroons Government lie in the ability of all political

leaders and leaders of thought to come together, not to dissolve their individual identities, but to create a common platform through which financial, economic and development problems could be discussed with a view to ascertaining majority opinion and reaching agreement on policy. If this is done, the Commissioner's appeal to leaders 'to sink their differences and join together in the task of building up a united Cameroons' will not have been in vain. If the leaders fail to come together we might well see the suspension of the constitution (since no single party can successfully form a Government under existing circumstances) to enable a plebiscite to decide the future of the territory."

## Sierra Leone

### Constitutional Reform

The *Times* (December 20, 1957) reported that negotiations between a delegation from Sierra Leone and representatives of the British Government had ended satisfactorily. The Colonial Office said that the next step would be for the Sierra Leone Government to put forward its proposals for debate in the House of Representatives. The chief aim of the delegates had been to effect constitutional reforms that would prepare the way for eventual self-government.

The delegation was led by Dr. John Karefa-Smart, Minister of Lands, Mines and Labour. The other members were Mr. I. B. Taylor-Kamara, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Paramount Chief Raymond Koker, Minister without Portfolio, Mr. Y. B. Sesay, Ministerial Secretary, and Mr. Albert Margai, a former Minister of Local Government, Education and Welfare.

A White Paper describing the proposed constitutional changes was published on January 14, 1958. It stated that under the new system the Governor would consult the Executive Council and act on its advice, subject to safeguarding his ultimate responsibility for peace and good government. His general reserved powers on executive and legislative matters will be redefined, but he will retain responsibility for external affairs, defence, internal security, police and public services. A Prime Minister will be appointed to lead the Government. At present the leading minister, Dr. M. A. S. Margai, has the title of Chief Minister. (*Times*, January 15, 1958.)

Sierra Leone this year celebrates its 150th anniversary as a British Crown Colony. Referring to this in a message to Sierra Leone, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said: "During the century and a half that have passed, the association between the U.K. and Sierra Leone has been happy and harmonious. From the start, Sierra Leone, which assumed its present form sixty years ago, was founded on the principle of freedom from oppression. This is a principle to be cherished as much today as ever in the past and I know that it is cherished in Sierra Leone. It is fitting that this Anniversary should fall at a moment when we look forward to continuing constitutional progress as well as to further progress in the economic and social spheres. . . . I pray that Sierra Leone will go forward in unity and strength, treasuring the ideals which have characterized its long and honourable history." (*Commonwealth News Agency*, January 1, 1958.)

### Diamond Licences

Anyone in Sierra Leone wishing to apply for diamond dealers' licences for next year must include fuller particulars of their nationality, in their applications. According to an announcement from the Ministry of Lands, Mines, and Labour, applicants must state whether they are British subjects, that is natives of Sierra Leone born in the Colony; or British subjects—born in the U.K., or in Ghana; or whether they are British Protected Persons of Lebanese or Nigerian descent. Foreigners must state their nationality. It was pointed out in the announcement that unless these full particulars were contained in all applications they would be liable to rejection. For the purpose of the Diamond Alluvial Mining Ordinance, a Native of Sierra Leone is a British subject or a British protected person, one of whose parents at least is or was a member of an African race, tribe, or community settled in Sierra Leone. (*West Africa*, January 11, 1958.)



# Gambia

*West Africa* (December 14, 1957) wrote: "By reducing the groundnut producer price from £31 to £27 for the 1957-58 season, the Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board has automatically cut the country's purchasing power. The Government has also reduced groundnut export duty by almost £2 a ton [with the result] that revenues might suffer. Fortunately the Gambia, like Nigeria and Senegal, is expecting a record crop, which may offset these reductions for this season. But the Board sees no prospect of a return to earlier high prices, and expects to have to subsidize even the reduced producer price by £2 a ton. Reserves are too small for big subsidies, and the Governor has just told the Legislative Council that two bad groundnut years would 'completely mop up everything we have in the way of reserves' . . ."

*The New Commonwealth* (January 1958) wrote: "Already the estimate of expenditure in 1958 is £1,497,363. The existing services are comparatively small for the country's needs, and their cost will continue to rise. Further efforts must be made to increase revenue, which, in spite of the grants from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds and the Farmer's Fund can hardly stand up to the strain of the present annual expenditure. . . ."

"The Governor in his recent Budget address seems to have implied that the number of expatriate experts in the establishment is the absolute minimum for present needs. . . . This question of staffing seems to be a problem in all the technical sections of the service. But without greater financial aid the territory cannot afford further commitments in that direction."

*West Africa* (December 14, 1957) wrote: "The economic situation is the background against which to consider the claims now being made by all parties in the Gambia for complete internal self-government with a responsible cabinet. The opposition United Party has set a date of 1959 for these changes. In addition all parties want a form of universal suffrage. The Governor said he would be meeting party leaders early in the new year to discuss their ideas. He emphasized, however, that implicit in all the demands was the realization that the present disproportionate representation of the Colony compared with the Protectorate would have to come to an end, since parliamentary democracy implied that every vote must have equal weight. He added that in his view parliamentary democracy in the Gambia required also that the Legislative Council should become multi-lingual, since if its proceedings are conducted in English less than 10 per cent of the population can understand them or be eligible for taking part in them."

"It is clear from the Governor's remarks that he doubts whether a country as small as the Gambia and with its special problems can sustain full parliamentary government, and that, in his view, the present constitution is designed to 'safeguard' Protectorate people. But however justified the Governor's views may be and however slow constitutional change may prove, the Gambia is now entering the main stream of West African politics. Whether Gambian leaders will be influenced by the experience of the French territory which surrounds them it is too soon to say. But nobody in the Gambia is asking for independence or supposes that the country can genuinely stand on its own; the problem is simply what sort of association it is to have with the United Kingdom."

Although it is asking for increased powers for African Ministers and a more liberal suffrage, the Gambia Muslim Congress has not abandoned its view that the only future for the country is closer association with the United Kingdom. The Party declares that though a merger with Senegal, which surrounds the Gambia, only thirty miles wide at its widest point, is logical, Gambians would oppose it. Yet as the country cannot stand on its own, it must look to some larger unit. The Muslim Congress rejects a West African Federation, since Gambia's 300,000 would count for nothing against Nigeria's 35 million, while federation might prove expensive. It believes that the United Kingdom Government should "be able to create a Body (possibly a Commonwealth Dependent Territories Parliament) on which the smaller territories would be given facilities to deal with their own problems themselves instead of by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Colonial Office should disappear and all matters

concerning these smaller territories should come under the Commonwealth Relations Office." (*West Africa*, January 11, 1958.)

## OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES Belgian Congo

### World Bank Loan

THE World Bank together with a number of Canadian and American banks, has made a loan of \$40 million for eighteen years at 6 per cent interest for building and improving roads in the Belgian Congo. With this loan, the World Bank has lent a total of \$110 millions to the Congo.

The *Manchester Guardian* (November 28, 1957) commented: "The road programme is part of the Congo's ten-year plan which started in 1950 and has already brought to the country a remarkable increase in economic vitality. It has become the world's largest supplier of cobalt and of industrial diamonds, a major exporter of copper and other minerals, and an important source of vegetable oils."

### Old Age Pensions

The *Rhodesia Herald* (December 14, 1957) described a revolutionary scheme by which thousands of Africans will, from 1958, qualify for old age pensions. It is based on contributions from employers and employees and is being launched with a gift of £9 million from the Belgian Government. In the first instance it will be confined to workers in the waterways service. Workers over 16 qualify who are permanently employed by the week, month, or year. At present 55 has been fixed as a retiring age at which a pensioner may qualify. As improving health conditions change the general health of the Congolese, so the age of retiring will be raised until it reaches 65.

A workman employed for thirty years after 1957 whose average wage was £7 a month would qualify for a pension of £60 a year. There is also a special widow's and orphan's allowance. The pension works out at about half the average pay received, including the value of rations, clothing and accommodation received.

### Municipal Elections

All who were literate were eligible to vote for the municipal elections held in the three largest cities of Leopoldville, Elisabethville and Jodotville, providing that they were Belgian. In the Congo a Belgian is either a White man of recognized Belgian nationality, or an African born in the Congo. In Leopoldville only 46,000 literate male Africans, out of a total African population of about 350,000 were eligible to vote.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (December 9, 1957) reported that 80 per cent of the Africans eligible returned their votes. Philip Gordon (*Daily Telegraph*, December 11, 1957) pointed out that though the elections were on an indirect basis (the city councillors are appointed from among the candidates), both electorate and candidates included both Black and White Belgians for the first time. All this was only a beginning; but the machinery, which would one day be the machinery of real election, was being created and operated.

## French Africa

### Discussion on Political Reform<sup>1</sup>

THE *Convention Africain* (the African Convention Party) formed by M. Leopold Senghor, leader of the B.P.S. (*Bloc Populaire Senegalais*) in order to spread the influence of his party, which is in power in Senegal, outside that territory, agreed to a meeting of Black African political parties, on

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 6; V, 3.

two conditions: first, that any unified movement set up is socialist; and second, that A.O.F. and A.E.F. should be federations and be associated with France through a federal republic. The meeting which was to be held in December has been postponed until early in 1958. (*West Africa*, November 30, December 14, 1957.)

### African Cabinet Appointments

M. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, president of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* and head of the Government of the Ivory Coast, has been made Minister of Health in the French Cabinet. He is a doctor by profession.

M. Hubert Maga, an M.P. from Niger and a member of the African Convention Party, has accepted the post of State Secretary in the Ministry of Education. The Secretary-General of the *Convention Africain* has, however, stated that M. Maga was not empowered to represent the Party in the French cabinet, the Party Executive having decided that it could not lend its Party's support to a government which did not support the African Convention's views on Algerian policy.

M. Hamadoun Dicko, M.P. from the Sudan and a member of M.S.A. (*Mouvement Socialiste Africain*), has been made Under-Secretary in the Ministry of National Education, and M. Modibo Keita, leader of the R.D.A. and M.P. for the Sudan, has been made Secretary of State in the French Prime Minister's Office.

These appointments represent a concession by the French Prime Minister, M. Gaillard, who proposed to restrict the number of ministerial appointments in his Government. However, pressure from the African political groups has meant that he has enlarged his Cabinet by three. (*West Africa*, November 23 and 30, 1957.)

### Plans for Amalgamating Trade Unions

January 1958 saw the holding of Congresses by the three large trade union groups of French Africa. They are: C.A.T.C. (Confédération Africaine des Travailleurs Croyants): the F.O. (Force Ouvrière): and the U.G.T.A.N. (Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire) the biggest of the three, of which M. Sékou Touré, Premier of French Guinea, is Secretary-General. Following the political discussions on federation and the consequences of the 'loi cadre', the Congresses will discuss amalgamation. *West Africa* (December 28, 1957) comments: "An amalgamation of these three trade union organizations would bring into being a more powerful body than any political party."

### Trouble in the Cameroons<sup>1</sup>

Although it was reported that twenty-six of the U.P.C. (Union of Populations of the Cameroons) rebels had surrendered after an appeal for peace had been made by the Prime Minister, M. André M'Bida, further outbreaks of violence have been reported. M. Samuel Wanko, a member of the Territorial Assembly was attacked and killed. (*West Africa*, November 30 and December 28, 1957.)

In his speech made at the ceremony of dedicating the new national flag of the French Cameroons (vertical bands of green, red, and yellow), M. M'Bida said: "The Cameroons has had the courage, after free discussions with France, to embark on one of the stages, in fact the most important stage of all, of its political evolution. But it has refused to give in to the myth and the madness of a so-called immediate independence. Those madmen who support this kind of independence do not really understand what the word means. Rather than this dangerous and fantastic formula, the Cameroons has chosen real and effective independence which will finally be achieved thanks to the labour of all the children of the country undertaken in peace."

### U.N. to Supervise Togoland Elections<sup>2</sup>

The United Nations General Assembly elected Mr. Max Dorsinville (Haiti) as its Commissioner to supervise the 1958 elections in French Togoland. At a meeting of the Trusteeship Committee a resolution was adopted noting that France had announced her intention of transferring to French Togoland all powers except defence, diplomacy and currency. The resolution also asked the Trusteeship Council to consider the whole

matter and report to the next session of the General Assembly to enable the plenary body "to reach a decision, in the light of circumstances then prevailing, concerning the termination of the trusteeship . . ."

Mr. Dorsinville was chairman of the 1957 United Nations visiting mission to the Trust territories of Italian Somaliland, British-administered Tanganyika, and Ruandi Urundi. A permanent delegate to the United Nations from 1950 until 1956, he was also chairman of the U.N. visiting mission to the Cameroons in 1955. (*West Africa*, November 30 and December 21, 1957.)

During the discussion in the Trusteeship Committee Mr. Daniel Chapman, permanent delegate for Ghana at the U.N. and first Ambassador to the United States, urged the appointment of a three-man rather than a one-man commission and asked for an examination by the General Assembly of the entire situation regarding the future of French Togoland. This resolution was not adopted and Ghana was among the twenty-six countries which abstained from voting on the resolution which was eventually passed by fifty votes to none.

### New Spirit Required in A.E.F.

M. Boganda, chairman of the Grand Council of French Equatorial Africa (A.E.F.) and M.P. for Oubangi-Chari, in his inaugural address, asked for two things only from the French Government. On the political level: freedom from obsolete administration and methods, "decolonization" and the granting of autonomy within the federal French Republic. On the economic level: help to expand, the sending of technicians and wise advisers "so that we can contribute the fruit of our labour to the great French family and the Common Market. . . . That is all: that will suffice since for the rest we have been thought worthy to take care of it ourselves."

Mr. Boganda emphasized that A.E.F. wishes to remain part of France but that a new spirit and new staff were required. (*Interafrrique Presse*, November 8, 1957.)

### French West Africa's Development

During its budget session the *Grand Conseil* of A.O.E.—French West Africa's quasi-Parliament—unanimously passed a motion urging the French Government to increase its financial aid to French West Africa. The *Grand Conseil* draws its members from the eight territorial assemblies of A.O.F. It is able to comment on the conduct of the *gouvernement général* of A.O.F.; it can pass as many motions as it likes; but it has no legislative powers, and no executive responsible to it.

Powers of the territorial governments range over economic, political, social, educational and similar matters; the High Commissioner, in his capacity as "head" of the group, remains responsible for certain common services, such as communications, and for economic and financial co-ordination. In his capacity as French representative in A.O.F., he is also responsible for matters such as defence, or internal security which remain the prerogative of France.

In his review of the economic situation, M. Gaston Cusin, the High Commissioner, pointed out that under the "loi cadre", the French Metropolitan Government has agreed to pay the salaries of all State Civil Servants, i.e. those still under the control of the French Government. Valuable though this financial contribution to current expenditure on administration was, the disturbing fact remained that nearly half the current expenditure in A.O.F. was now spent on the public service; the comparative figure in France was only 25 per cent. Africanization was one obvious answer to reducing the cost of administration, and the High Commissioner hoped sufficient technical and other educational facilities could be provided to make Africanization a reality.

French capital investment had contributed considerably to A.O.F.'s economic advance during the last ten years. Production of cash crops had in some cases far more than doubled. Progress had been more rapid in the "coastal" countries like Senegal, and Ivory Coast and Guinea than in the "interior", i.e. Mauritania, Sudan or Haute-Volta or Niger. These latter territories still only accounted for 12 per cent of the value of A.O.F.'s exports; their production of food for consumption inside A.O.F. had however, grown significantly.

In the agricultural field, industrial fibre production and palm oil

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3. <sup>2</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

production offered great prospects in the Ivory Coast. Meat production could be increased in Niger; tunny fishing off the coast of Guinea and Senegal had considerable potentiality. In Mauritania iron ore extraction was expected to reach 6 million tons with five to six years; in the Senegal an important phosphate industry was coming into being; Guinea had its alumina and aluminium schemes; oil exploration continued hopefully in Senegal and Ivory Coast.

All these projects envisaged large-scale capital investments from private as well as from public sources. The High Commissioner showed that over 60 per cent of investments in the private sector were expected to come from foreign, rather than French sources, and indeed, as he repeatedly emphasized, all the world's major industrial powers were participating in these mineral projects. Nevertheless, French over-all financial contributions to A.O.F. still remained the biggest of all contributions made by the big Western powers to underdeveloped countries. (*West Africa*, December 14, 1957.)

## LIBERIA

### "A Quiet Revolution"

A SPECIAL correspondent in *The Times* (January 10, 1958) pointed out that much that has been written about Liberia in the past has been in a derisory vein and is about ten years out of date.

It was established as an independent state in 1847 by the 20,000 Negro immigrants who were released from slavery in America or rescued from slaving ships. These immigrants and their descendants, or Americo-Liberians as they are styled, established what is in effect a colonial regime over the indigenous Africans inhabiting the interior. The immigrants spoke English, were Christian and preserved a Southern aristocratic tradition. The indigenous population spoke African languages, remained largely fetishist, and continued to wear primitive adornments. The number of the total population is not known. All that can be said with certainty is that about 150,000 Liberians are involved in the cash, as opposed to the subsistence, economy of the country.

The American Firestone Company is responsible for enormous rubber plantations and 66 per cent of rubber in Liberia is grown by independent Liberian farmers. The huts and the inhabitants appear less prosperous than in Ghana or Nigeria. Wages are lower and the cost of living fantastically high. Almost all consumer goods are imported from the United States, Lebanese merchants enjoying a virtual monopoly of the distributive trade.

Liberia is a country of free enterprise and if at one end of the scale the people appear shabby and rather *farouche*, at the other there is considerable wealth.

Politically, the constitution of Liberia resembles that of the United States. At its head is President Tubman, who has been in power since 1943, leader of the True Whig Party, which has ruled the country without intermission since 1870. At the last elections in 1955 the True Whigs won 250,000 votes. The combined score of their opponents was a little over 1,000. The rival presidential candidate received sixteen votes. The next elections are due in 1960 and monumental and almost certainly genuine petitions are already being signed in favour of Mr. Tubman's continuance in office.

The two curses of Liberian history have been the domineering attitude of the Americo-Liberians towards the "native" and their dog-in-the-manger approach to economic development. The two main planks of the Tubman policy have been in politics "unification" in economics "the open door".

In the 1920s an impartial League of Nations commission seriously alleged that the Americo-Liberians were adopting practices tantamount to slavery among the indigenous Africans.

Mr. Tubman is striving to change this attitude. "The civilized population," he has said, "cannot get along without the uncivilized; neither can the uncivilized population get along without the civilized. For more than eighty years we have tried to destroy each other. Now let us once and for all bury the hatchet. . . ." As positive contributions to this policy the

Tubman regime can claim the enfranchisement of the tribal population, the granting of tribal representation in the Legislature, and the promotion of tribesmen to the highest offices of State. Contrary, too, to all past experience is the diversion of revenue to economic and social development in the hinterland.

Economically, Liberia is rich in minerals and tree crops. The Firestone Company as recently as 1955 accounted for 40 per cent of revenue and 70 per cent of exports. But the economy is now broadening. Mr. Tubman has striven by tax concession and similar incentives to attract foreign investors. The results of his policy are reflected in a consistently favourable trade balance on an over-all expansion of foreign trade rising from \$12 million in 1943 to \$71 million in 1956. Iron ore is the biggest new development. Liberia is now exporting about 2,500,000 tons of high-grade ore annually. In about five years' time the tonnage will be 10 million.

## GENERAL

### Economic Development of Africa<sup>1</sup>

*A Summary: by Charles Kemp*

A STUDY group of eleven independent African and European experts has presented the Final Report on "The Development of Africa" to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.<sup>2</sup> The group points out that the general development of Africa will require more capital and technical skill than can be found in Africa itself, or by the countries having special responsibilities there—the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. They suggest that a Colombo Plan should be created for Africa, based first of all on equal co-operation between all African countries, independent or otherwise, and the European countries which are members of the Council of Europe. But this nucleus could be joined by other European countries, e.g. Switzerland, and non-European countries such as the U.S.A., Canada and India. Such a joint effort should measure its long-run success by a rise in the standard of living of the African people. Up to now African economic development has mainly been promoted by non-Africans; future economic development "should promote dynamic indigenous economies". The African countries will depend to a varying extent on external provision of capital, technicians and equipment until such time, "still remote, as the degree of economic development, the volume of local savings, the standard of education and vocational training at all levels are sufficient for those countries to take full charge of their own future development". In order to prepare "national" development programmes and to co-operate in the joint effort each African country should have a Development Agency.

#### External Financing

In order to create favourable conditions for investment any prejudices of the country receiving capital should be avoided, and investors should be convinced that their investments "will not be endangered by authoritarian action". An *Investment Statute* should be prepared, defining the rights and duties of investors and borrowers. The International Chamber of Commerce has proposed an *International Code on the Fair Treatment of Foreign Investments*, which, if adopted, would have to be modified to ensure a proper part for local savings, and to allay fears of (political) domination which large-scale investment may arouse.

As regards direct foreign private investments, the question is whether the African countries can offer more profitable openings than in the industrialized countries of North America and Western Europe. The size of such investment also depends "on confidence in the political, economic, financial and social development of the particular African country and the local treatment of foreign investment". In order to minimize the risks of political disturbances, and shortage of foreign currency to pay external debts, etc., an intergovernmental insurance scheme should be founded to cover certain private investments. To encourage African borrowing from foreign money markets, despite the present high rates of interest, a *system*

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST V, 3.

<sup>2</sup>Council of Europe: Consultative Assembly: Ninth Ordinary Session Documents, Vol. III, No. 701; Strasbourg, 1957 (H.M.S.O.).



of allowances should be designed to reduce interest charges on certain loans. A fund for such a purpose should be set up by the participating countries.

The group laments that the earlier high hopes of financing through international organizations have been disappointed. For example, by June 1957 the I.B.A.D. approved loans totalling \$3,000 million, of which less than \$350 million represented loans to African countries.

An *African Investment Bank*, if set up, could raise substantial capital for African development. A special *African Investment Fund* should also be created, which would act as a central agency for non-profit making investments, and the financing of such projects as communications, energy and improved cultivation. To this *all* participating countries would contribute, and it would provide long-term interest free, or very low interest loans. These two institutions would supplement and not supersede existing sources of finance. It should be noted that for 1952-55 more than nine-tenths of the financial aid given to Africa came from European countries with responsibilities there; the rest came almost solely from the U.S.A.

If the *Investment Bank* and *Investment Fund* are not immediately feasible a *Guarantee and Financial Assistance Fund* should be opened for subscriptions by *all* participating countries. This fund would undertake the insurance of certain private investments, and, the granting of allowances to compensate African countries for high interest rates in foreign money markets (both of which were mentioned above). It would also provide a collective guarantee to cover loans raised in these money markets, or obtained from international institutions, and would finance technical assistance not otherwise provided for.

#### *Technical Assistance*

"Technical assistance is perhaps the most effective way of promoting the economic and social development of the African countries and of raising the standard of living of the African peoples." But in view of the present shortage of technicians in industrialized countries, emphasis should be placed on the training of Africans abroad, particularly in Europe. The joint effort in the field of technical assistance does not need the setting up of new international bodies.

The Commission for Technical Co-operation South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.) already exists, which subject to an amendment of its statutes could extend its activities. Its members are the U.K., France, Belgium, Portugal, South Africa, Ghana and Rhodesia. Spain and Liberia are not members. The geographical scope of C.C.T.A. should be extended and its membership should consist of *all* participating African and European Governments. It should be made responsible for solving technical assistance problems subject to the control of periodic conferences of member countries, and should act in close liaison with the prospective financial institutions (mentioned above), and should be adequately endowed. "Generally speaking the volume of private technical assistance is much greater than is commonly imagined. It is provided by profit-seeking undertakings, and individuals (immigrants) and by voluntary organizations, religious or secular."

#### *Trade Relations and Markets*

The expansion of African foreign trade is an integral part of development. Exports of African countries and territories in 1954-55 accounted for only about 6 per cent of world exports. North Africa and the Union of South Africa accounted for 45 per cent of total African imports. The rest of Africa with nine-tenths of the total population accounted for the remaining 55 per cent. On the export side the corresponding figures are roughly 40 per cent and 50 per cent. The O.E.C.C. countries account for 65 per cent of all exports and 71 per cent of all imports in 1954. The dollar area accounted for 10 per cent of all imports and exports, while intra-African trade accounted for another 10 per cent.

The U.K. and France together account for about one-half of total African trade. South Africa dominates intra-African trade, and North Africa takes second place. The bulk of African imports are manufactured goods. About 75 per cent of African exports are primary products. The range of exports is narrow. Eleven principal items account for about 60 per cent of the total export value in 1954. In fourteen African countries from 70 to 90 per cent of export values were accounted for by three commodities or less.

Thus, as the African and European economies are complementary, one of the objectives of the joint effort should be to liberalize trade between the two continents. This should also be the aim in intra-African trade.

In 1957 the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) was founded. The countries affected were France, Italy, West Germany and Benelux. They are beginning the creation of a Common Market among themselves. Provision was made in the treaty to associate the overseas territories of the six countries with the Common Market. Proposals are being discussed to link the U.K., Austria, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland with the Common Market in order to establish a European Free Trade Area. This raises the question of the future pattern of African trade. For example the E.E.C. Treaty makes no provision for bringing into the Common Market, African countries which have no relations with the six countries. The group feels that the creation of the Common Market and the negotiations about the Free Trade Area should lead to the consideration of bringing in *all* interested African countries and territories to avoid the possible danger of the distortion of African-European Trade, and to gain the advantage of the widest liberalization of trade between the continents.

#### *Price Stabilization*

Most African countries are dependent on the export of a small number of products; for example in Tropical Africa, cocoa, coffee, ground-nuts, palm-oil, palm-kernels and cotton. Producers and public finance react sharply to fluctuations in the world price of these commodities. High prices cause inflationary movements. Low prices reduce Government revenue and may ruin producers. "Consequently the efforts made to raise the standard of living of rural populations in Africa would prove in vain if steps were not taken to ensure that they received a satisfactory return for their work."

The irregularity of returns from exports is also a great handicap to development policy. "One way of remedying this state of affairs would be . . . by pegging the export prices of the staple African products. This would involve multilateral international agreements (as in the case of sugar and wheat), or bilateral agreements (in the form of long-term contracts with importers). But the countries in question might equally well take steps to control their home markets, and set up equalization and reserve funds."

British territories have their "Marketing Boards" and the French "*Caisses de Stabilisation*". Present international agreements are being studied by the U.N. (E.C.O.S.O.C.) in conjunction with F.A.O. and G.A.T.T. to discover whether such agreements could be extended to deal with fluctuating prices of rubber, cotton, wool, rice and coffee. The participating countries should examine the present African control schemes so that experience could be shared. They should explore the possibilities of stabilizing world prices of primary commodities, through G.A.T.T. and F.A.O., or within the regional framework of the joint effort itself.

#### *The Institutions Required*

The group considers that to operate the African Colombo Plan the following institutions are necessary. (The Financial Institutions have been described above.)

(a) *A Consultative Committee* at ministerial level on which *all* the participating countries would be represented in an equal footing. This would meet periodically and examine development programmes and difficulties which have arisen. It would supervise and co-ordinate the work of the special institutions.

(b) *Standing Co-ordination Committee* to prepare the work of the Consultative Committee. It would be the executive body in relation to the specialized institutions, and would carry out liaison work with the participating governments.

(c) *A Technical Assistance Bureau* to co-ordinate assistance requirements, to organize research and to provide training, and to supply assistance not normally obtained. The duties of the Bureau could be entrusted to C.C.T.A. (as outlined above).

(d) *Specialized National Services*, such as "*Development Agencies*" in African countries, unless these had already been established. *External Assistance Services* in contributing countries to co-ordinate work in

African development, and to ensure liaison between governments and the specialized institutions.

The creation of the institutions should not be difficult if the Council of Europe and the African countries genuinely desire a joint effort to develop Africa.

The setting-up of the Bank and the Fund may be more difficult, but any hesitations about this should not impede or delay the joint effort. The short-term solution would be to establish the Guarantee and Financial Fund (already described). This would prove the desire for joint action and pave the way for further expansion.

### The Establishment of F.A.M.A.

A scheme to promote technical assistance in Africa South of the Sahara has been approved by the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara. The members of the Commission, namely the Governments of Belgium, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, France, Ghana, Liberia, Portugal, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, believe that there is a need for further measures of technical assistance to supplement the aid which they and other governments and international organizations are already providing.

The member governments have therefore decided to establish, under the Commission, a Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara (F.A.M.A.), the purpose of which will be to assist in the provision of technical assistance for the region such as the services of experts, instructors or advisers, the training of personnel and the supply of equipment for training purposes. Technical assistance provided will be arranged bilaterally between donors and recipients with F.A.M.A. acting as their clearing house.

The assistance given through F.A.M.A. will be available also to countries in Africa South of the Sahara which are not members of the Commission. The services of F.A.M.A., where appropriate, may be made available to other governments and international organizations supplying aid for the region.

The scheme is the result of proposals which have been under consideration since April 1957. It will be officially inaugurated during an Extraordinary Session of the Commission to be held in Accra on February 19 and 20.

### Human Rights in the Colonies

Mr. Dingle Foot (Labour) speaking in the House of Commons in the course of the debate on the Queen's speech drew attention to incidents in British overseas territories which showed that basic human rights were not observed. He said that passports which were originally a facility had now almost become an instrument of tyranny. "In November of last year, a Socialist conference was held in Bombay. The organizers . . . invited certain African delegates, from Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Uganda. In each case application was made for a passport, and in each case the passport was refused without any reason being given."

He described the situation in Kenya as "a good deal more serious", and continued: ". . . Many thousands of Her Majesty's subjects are still detained, in some cases having been detained for as long as four or five years, without charge and without trial."

"Last year and the year before I visited the detention camps. . . I want to say something about the people in those camps. I know that their numbers are falling, but I hope that we shall not be told by any Minister in this debate that the situation is covered by rehabilitation. . . we must realize that no one is a candidate for rehabilitation until he has confessed to Mau Mau activities. . . . But I am concerned not with those who are candidates for rehabilitation; I am concerned with some of those sometimes referred to as the 'hard core', who will say that they have never taken part in Mau Mau activities."

"The first example concerns a man who had been a journalist. He had been locked up almost since the beginning of the emergency. In his case, as in almost all other cases, there was the general accusation that he had been an active supporter of Mau Mau. That means nothing unless it is supported by particulars, and those particulars in this case were, first, 'That you had been a close associate of Paul Ngai.' Here is an example of guilt by association. Secondly, and more startling, 'You had been editor

of a 'near seditious newspaper'—here follows the name of the newspaper—which has now been proscribed.' What is a 'near seditious newspaper'?"

"I want the House to observe the way in which the process works. First, one takes emergency powers; then one uses those powers to suppress a newspaper, and then one uses the suppression of the newspaper as a ground for keeping a man in prison for four or five years, I do not believe that prolonged detention can possibly be justified on such grounds."

"My second example concerns a man whose case was raised in the House not long ago. . . . In this case, the man had taken part in politics, and the allegation was as follows: 'You made inflammatory speeches against the Government of Kenya and Europeans calculated to stir up sedition and inter-racial enmity.' That was all; no particulars of any speech whatsoever—simply that general allegation. That man has been detained on Manda Island or elsewhere ever since the beginning of the emergency."

"I now come to the third case, the case of a member of the Koinange family, the son of the ex-senior chief Koinange, who was acquitted by a court of law, but, nonetheless, who has been interned ever since. The following was the allegation made against the son: 'You acted as your father's clerk and to that extent had knowledge of Mau Mau plans, and to the extent that you did not reveal them became a participant.' That is remarkable enough in itself, but it is still more remarkable when one considers the charges made against the father, because it is not even charged against the father that he was ever a member of the Mau Mau organization."

"The point I want to make about this class of case is that we are not here dealing with terrorists, not with men who have been in the forest and not with people who have taken part in any violent action, but simply with a class of political prisoners."

Mr. Foot also spoke of the declaration of emergency in Northern Rhodesia. He said: "There had been a series of strikes on the Copperbelt. . . . The Deputy-Governor invoked his powers under the Order in Council, 1939, to declare a state of emergency. The leaders of the African Mineworkers' Union were arrested. They were taken away without trial and were, as it afterwards appeared, detained unlawfully. Most of them, if not all, have been detained or rusticated ever since. They are not allowed to return to their homes on the Copperbelt."

He concluded: "It is not easy to combine political and economic development. It is not easy to see how the problems of plural societies are going to be solved, but quite certainly we are never going to solve them unless we in this country are prepared to concede to all the colonial peoples under our rule the same standards of freedom and justice that we here claim for ourselves." (*Hansard*, November 6, 1957.)

### Afro-Asian Conference

The Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity conference concluded a week of meetings with a plenary session at Cairo University, where the delegates gave formal approval to a series of political, economic, and social resolutions.

Colonel Anwar el Sadat, the Egyptian president of the conference and one of its chief organizers, remarked in his closing speech that the 500 or so delegates—from the solidarity movements of more than forty countries and dependencies—had spared no effort in deliberating, discussing, and drafting resolutions and "condemning imperialism in all its forms".

The conference's immediate practical achievement was a decision to establish a permanent organization, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, which will meet at least once a year and will have a permanent secretariat with headquarters in Cairo. There are to be a secretary-general nominated by Egypt and ten secretaries, one of them nominated by Russia.

The Council and secretariat will put into practice the resolutions and recommendations of the conference, promote and strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity movements, and act as a permanent liaison between these movements.

One of the resolutions approved by the conference asked for self-determination for Kenya, Uganda, and Cyprus, supported the Indonesian claim to Dutch New Guinea, and demanded recognition of Algerian independence as a basis for negotiations with France. Israel was

described as a "base of imperialism", pursuing an aggressive policy threatening world peace.

Appeals were made for the halting of nuclear tests—it being noted that Russia had offered to stop tests—for disarmament, and for United Nations seats for Communist China and Mongolia. (*The Times*, January 2, 1958.)

The Zanzibar delegates to the conference described in a press statement how some Zanzibaris, including Sheikh Ali Mushin, had been prevented from attending the conference. The British Resident in Zanzibar advised Sheikh Ali Mushin that it was especially undesirable for him as a member of the Executive Council to attend. Sheikh Ali Mushin promised to consider this advice while in Khartoum which he had planned to visit on his way to Cairo. He gave the same assurance to a Government official in Kenya, but the Immigration Officer at Nairobi Airport told the three delegates that he had instructions to declare them prohibited immigrants and that they were to return to Zanzibar.

The Nationalist Party delegates to the conference expressed total disagreement with the wisdom of the steps which the Zanzibar Government had taken, and added: "It is constantly drummed into our ears that the worst part of Communism is its denial of freedom—freedom of movement, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. By this single act the Zanzibar Government has denied to the citizens of this country these freedoms and demonstrated to the world, and particularly to the critics of British colonial policy, that Britain, or those colonial administrations which are run under her name, can flout human rights with impunity and deny her citizens, or those living under her protection, the freedoms which her propagandists claim are not enjoyed by those under Communist régimes."

Mr. T. D. T. Banda, president of the Nyasaland African Congress, was also refused a visa to attend the conference.

The *Manchester Guardian* (December 28, 1957) said that the Cairo conference was not in the same class as that held at Bandung in 1955, which was a conference of governments. Although in Cairo there were said to be delegates representing forty-two countries a good many of the delegates were people who were not representative.

"As Colonel Anwar el Sadat, the Egyptian chairman of the conference, has tactfully put it, this is a conference 'of peoples, not of governments'. The Communist countries, however, speak through their governments. The outcome is naturally a series of speeches on familiar party lines, and a shying away from such dangerous topics as 'Human rights and the right of self-determination', which the Cypriots and the Arabs vainly sought to raise but Communist delegates shelved until the next meeting. Perhaps the freshest idea heard so far is that of a common market, proposed by the Egyptians, and as a first step a conference in Cairo next year of Afro-Asian chambers of commerce to study methods of developing trade and economic co-operation between members. Something fruitful might come of that. But the experience of Western Europe does not encourage hopes of an early harvest. There are certainly groups of countries in the Afro-Asian block which could do more business with each other; but they may find an effort to apply this policy to the whole block a hindrance rather than a help."

Colin Legum writing in the *Observer* (December 29, 1957) said: "The outpost of Afro-Asian solidarity established by Colonel Nasser in Cairo is viewed with strong disfavour by many prominent African nationalist leaders, especially those from non-Arab countries. . . . Ghana sent an unimpressive delegation consisting of a few party officials who carry little weight with the Government. None of the non-Arab governments in Africa sent more than a token delegation. Thus the outstanding fact about the Cairo conference has been its unrepresentative nature so far as 'Black' Africa is concerned."

"Although Ghana, for the sake of unity, has agreed to serve on the executive, neither it nor the Sudan is satisfied with the association of Russia as an official part of the Afro-Asian solidarity committee. They claim that this decision nullifies the claim of the sponsors that the committee believes in a policy of non-commitment."

### Russian Interest

Sir Andrew Cohen, British delegate to the United Nations Trusteeship Council, said in a speech to the Council of World Affairs in San Francisco

that Britain and the United States "must take Russian interest in Africa most seriously" in framing their policy towards that continent. "Complicity on this subject on our part would be irresponsible, especially in the light of the Russian speeches and offers of assistance at the recent (Afro-Asian 'solidarity') conference at Cairo," he said.

Sir Andrew said: "It would obviously be absurd to deny that international Communism has been one of the powerful factors encouraging the growth of nationalism generally, but, so far at any rate, Communism has had little part in nationalist movements in Africa. I only know one such movement which has direct association with Communism, and that is not in a British territory."

Sir Andrew, who is a former Governor of Uganda, said that the Russians were taking a growing interest in Africa and had made provisions on "quite a large scale" for African studies. They had tried to capture the minds of African students "with limited success so far".

The steady progress towards independence which is taking place throughout the middle tier of Africa, and the accompanying social and economic development programmes, are themselves by far the best and most effective bulwark against Communism in this area, and the success of these depends mainly on the successful co-operation between the Western countries concerned and the African nationalist movements.

"It is evident that in those countries which have not gained their independence, we no longer have infinite time, as used to be thought not very many years ago," he went on. "The present stage demands that every possible means be found of maintaining their forward impetus and if possible, speeding it up."

The non-self-governing countries needed outside help, both capital and technical assistance, "on a massive scale". "I am sure that the new countries in Africa will look first of all to the Western world; but they might be tempted to look elsewhere if we failed to help them on an adequate scale."

### Preparing for Independence

Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, M.P., has discussed in *Socialist Commentary* (December 1957) some of the problems arising from the "momentum towards independence" now general in British colonial territories. *Inter alia*, he said: "The dynamism of 'nationalism' is so strong that this movement can be obstructed only temporarily, and then only by repression and violence. . . .

"The changed political and physical conditions, and the world-wide propaganda of anti-colonialism have contributed to the clamour for ending colonial status. And consequently we are less patient with the old arguments that independence should be related to ideas of economic viability and potential resources, to capacity to deal with defence requirements, and to the existence of a trained and well-organized local service for the purpose of efficient government. . . .

"But in dismantling colonialism and dismembering an Empire hastily, we still have a responsibility. We must not create a situation in which a great deal of the good work put into the territories is undone, and important services brought to stagnation through want of resources. It would be disastrous if political life in these newly-independent lands were to become confused and authoritarian simply through a people's inexperience and immaturity. For once independence is attained it is practically irrevocable, and aid from outside is a difficult matter to arrange. . . .

"The question consequently arises, are our conceptions of colonial administration adequate for the creation of democratic self-government? Are we producing the stability essential to independent nationhood? Something more is required than getting the broad objectives of policy right. New conceptions of colonial administration are, it is true, evolving. Increasingly the interest of colonial governments is shown in finance and taxation, industry and commerce, economic planning and public works, education and social services, local government and research. A steady transformation of government functions is in process as the goal for political democracy and independent nationhood is set. But in the transformation, are we anticipating in sufficient measure the needs of the new democratic governments to meet the strains of independence? . . .

"It is clear in the first place that the territories need more locally recruited administrators and technicians. This involves an earlier and



better seeking out of local men and women for these posts and increased facilities for their training and acquisition of experience. The dependencies are not moving fast enough in this respect. Second, the present view of the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts should be modified. It is only a partially sound view that funds may be available for big economic schemes, but only limited amounts may be found for social projects. Third, a more vigorous line ought to be taken about education and the general enlightenment of the colonial public. There is need to multiply the campaigns against illiteracy, to organize better information services and to find additional media of publicity for informing the people about their own affairs. There are other urgent needs. A speedier effort should be made to establish genuine institutions of local government, and the utmost encouragement given to voluntary organizations such as trade unions, co-operative societies.

"It is important, too, to make a more energetic drive in the development of industry, reformed agriculture and mixed economies. If independent territories are to stand on their own feet, the economies must be planned and supported and not left to a 'free for all'. And finally the adaptation of traditional forms of rule should carry with it respect for the best elements within it, and sometimes incorporation in the newer political forms.

"I do not believe, however, that a revision of administration along these lines will get far without the fullest confidence between the colonial governments and the people. It is of the greatest importance that the people should co-operate in social and economic development. The Commonwealth, too, might be invited to play a larger part."

### Colonialism: Good or Bad

Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic candidate in the last two U.S. Presidential elections, discussing some of the effects of the Suez crisis in an article in *Optima* reprinted in the *Sunday Times* (December 29, 1957) said that the American attitude to "colonialism" and "imperialism" sprang more from their revolutionary history as a colony than any extensive understanding of contemporary "colonialism". British rule had helped to satisfy the demands of the new nations in Asia and Africa in three essential ways. "In the first place, it was through the imperial link that thousands of Asians and Africans made their first contact with Western education and administration. There was never any theory that knowledge should be confined to a British master race.

"In the second place, it was through imperial channels that the colonial territories received the flow of capital and trained technological brains without which no effective attack could have been launched against massive health and economic problems. It is, of course, true that the motives for this flow were by no means altruistic. But neither, I think, did the colonial peoples lose in the long run."

Mr. Stevenson added that there were also vices as well as virtues, and

that there were moral and economic reasons leading to independence, self-government and the transfer of power.

He went on: "No, I make no plea for a restoration of Western empire. But I do insist upon a recognition by all of us, and by my countrymen especially, that the end of empires does not mean automatically an end to the problems with which empires coped. The problems remain, some of them vastly increased in difficulty and danger by the withdrawal of the imperial power.

"Like Alice and the Red Queen, the new nations of Asia and Africa have to run faster and faster just to stay where they are. Yet they find it difficult to maintain even the pace already set; they certainly cannot keep up with their advancing needs unless they receive more economic assistance from highly-developed nations. To become and remain truly independent these 'have-not' nations must grow economically strong, a fact well realized by their leaders who are combing the world for credits and capital."

Mr. Stevenson said he was disturbed first by the reluctance of the American taxpayer, since the Suez crisis, to continue foreign aid on the needed scale. He added: "The other development which disturbs me is the British White Paper of last July on 'The United Kingdom's Role in Commonwealth Development' announcing a standstill policy on overseas investment and no Government loans to the newly-independent nations of the Commonwealth, just when the need is most acute."

He said that other sources of economic aid included Western Germany and an international development fund also merits consideration. Some nations are fearful or proud about loans or grants from a single big country.

### More Funds for C.D.C.

The Overseas Resources Development Bill, which increases sums which the Colonial Development Corporation may borrow or which may be advanced to it by the Secretary of State, has been published.

In addition, the Bill enables the C.D.C. to take on a new role as managing agents or to perform advisory functions, without financial commitment, in non-Colonial Commonwealth countries. This means that C.D.C. will thus again be enabled to operate in Ghana. The Bill follows the lines laid down in a White Paper<sup>1</sup> published last July after the Government had undertaken a review of the role of the U.K. in the development of Commonwealth resources. The sum which the C.D.C. may borrow other than temporarily and have outstanding at any one time is increased from £100 million to £150 million. In addition, the amount which the Secretary of State may advance to the Corporation is increased from £100 million to £130 million outstanding at any one time. (*West Africa*, January 4, 1958.)

<sup>1</sup>H.M.S.O. Cmd. 237; DIGEST V, 2.

## AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

MISS MARY BENSON, who until recently was Secretary of the Africa Bureau, has joined the Executive Committee.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Hailey gave the Address at the Anniversary Meeting of the Africa Bureau, held in London on December 5, 1957. He spoke on "Tomorrow in Africa" and his address will be published shortly by the Africa Bureau.

All the signatories of the Declaration of Conscience (see p. 153) have been asked to consider ways and means whereby public opinion might be brought to bear on the situation in South Africa. The Bureau's view is that far from antagonizing enlightened opinion in South Africa, this would be regarded, by all those trying to resist *apartheid*, as a support and a means of overcoming the evil consequences which the *apartheid* policy is threatening to bring about. It is suggested that those who belong to organizations represented at national and international levels should take steps to insist that no organization in their particular field should permit or recognize racial discrimination.

M.P.s and the Press were lobbied before the debate in the House of

Commons on the Constitution Amendment Bill (November 25, 1957) in an effort to gain support for the view of the African Affairs Board that this measure discriminated against Africans. The views of the African Bureau Executive were set out in the pamphlet "Central Africa and the British Parliament" (price 4d.) of which there are still a small number of copies available.

The Rev. Andrew Doig has asked the Africa Bureau to arrange his programme during his visit to London. Mr. Doig has been a missionary of the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland for many years and since 1953 has been a nominated Member for African Interests for Nyasaland in the Central African Federal Assembly. Mr. Doig is also a member of the African Affairs Board which has objected to the Constitution Amendment Act and the Franchise Bill recently passed by the Federal Assembly on the ground that this legislation discriminates against Africans.

Members of the Bureau staff have continued to address meetings on African issues, and the Rev. Michael Scott spoke to a meeting at Watford on South Africa at which nearly £100 was raised for the Treason Trial Defence Fund.

*The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents*

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